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The Reformed Reformation

BY

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Central Theological Seminary**

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PREFACE

This work has been published to meet a desire by some of the ministers of the Reformed Church for more material on the Reformed side of the Reformation, which they might use in the observance of the Quarto-centenary of the Reformation. We therefore give less space to the Lutheran side of the Reformation; especially as the material on that side of the Reformation is more abundant, and besides the Lutherans, to their credit be it said, have been exploiting Luther more than the Reformed have been doing for Zwingli or Calvin. Where we have treated of both sides of the Reformation, we have tried to give the Lutheran side fairly, but we have given the facts as they stand today. We have no desire to minimize Luther, but to give him all due credit for the greatness of his work. But Luther is not the whole of the Reformation and the Reformed should receive their fair recognition. We have also endeavored to utilize the latest discoveries in the history of the Reformation and also the latest publications of, and on, that period. This has placed somethings in a new light. The Reformed and Presbyterian Churches are especially interested in all this, as they have come directly from Zwingli through Calvin. And we trust that they will find this work helpful for the observance of this Anniversary. We only regret the shortness of time that we have had, in which to prepare it so as to get it out before 1917. And we regret our inability, on account of the war, to get to Zurich so as to get hold of more of the original sources, though our own large library on the Reformed Church of Switzerland has given much. That this book may have a share, however small, in making this Anniversary a great inspiration and blessing to our Churches is the wish of the author.

JAMES I. GOOD.



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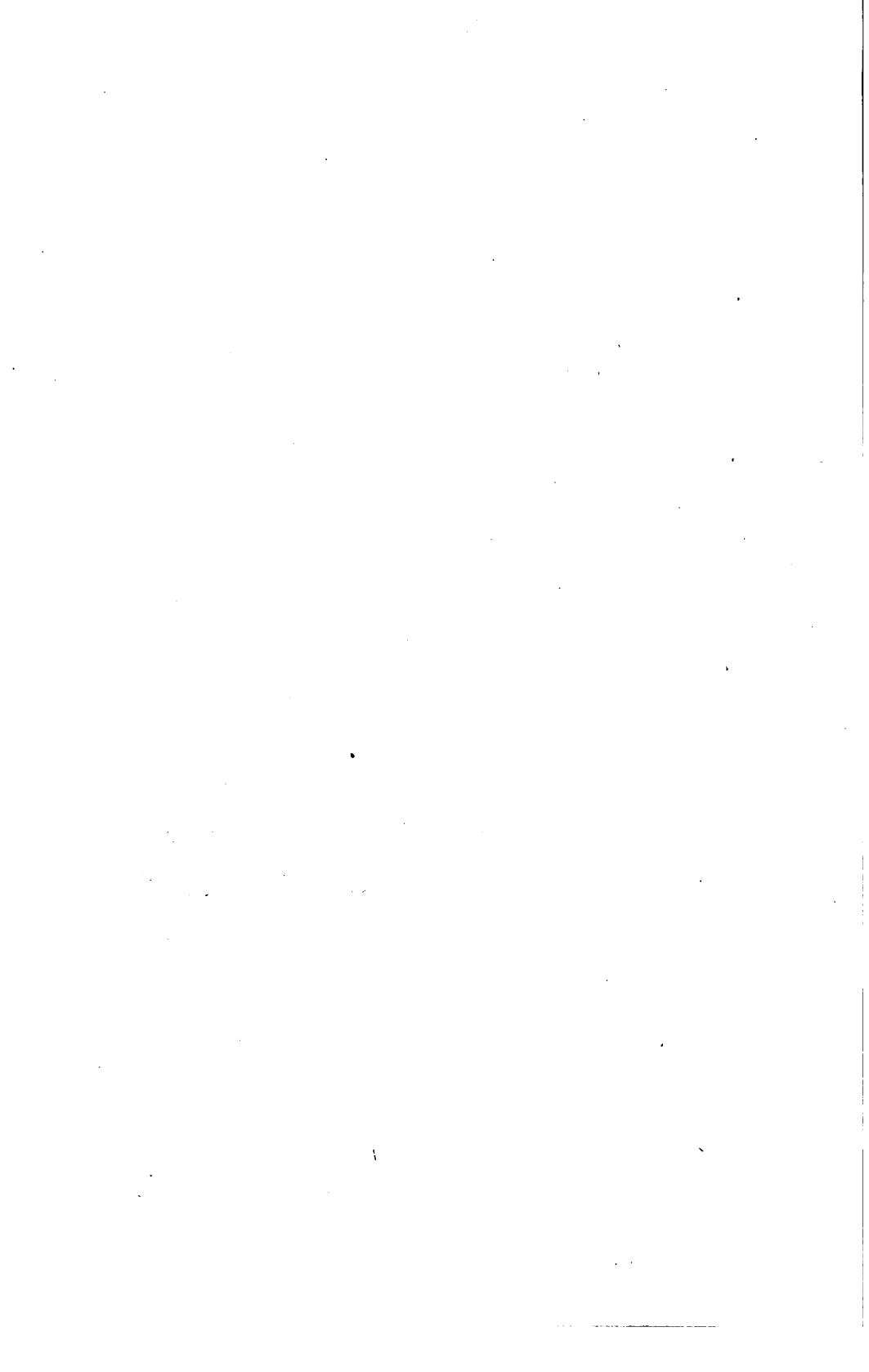
The Reformed Reformation

BOOK I

Who was the First Reformer?

INTRODUCTORY.

The question who was the first Reformer is an old one. There has been a long debate between the Lutherans and the Reformed as to which of the Reformers was the first, Luther or Zwingli. This question seems a very simple one, but the answer is not by any means so simple, as we shall see. But first of all one thing is becoming prominent in the later researches about the history of the Reformation and that is, that before either Luther or Zwingli, there was another who was earlier, Prof. James Lefevre, of France. The tendency of modern research about the Reformation has been to go beyond the Reformers, back to their teachers as the sources of the Reformation. And of these on the Reformed side two stand out prominently, Prof. James Lefevre, of France, and Prof. Thomas Wytenbach, of Basle.



CHAPTER I.

PROF. JAMES LEFEVRE.

In the study of the Reformers, historical research has been going back of the Reformers themselves to the study of their antecedents. And so a new phase of the Reformation has opened up. The value of these earlier men has so grown that one of them now looms up as the first Reformer, Prof. James Lefevre of Paris. Prof. Doumergue, who has written the latest and most elaborate biography of Calvin, makes Lefevre not only a forerunner of the Reformers as has been previously supposed, but he makes Lefevre to be himself a Reformer. The old controversy whether Luther or Zwingli was the first Reformer passes away, for Lefevre was before either of them. And as Lefevre founded the Reformed Church of France, the Reformed would seem to have the advantage in priority. Lefevre was truly a Reformer, for he aimed as did all the Reformers, at a reformation of the Catholic Church.

Hitherto he has appeared as a sort of a shadowy form, hovering about the beginning of the Reformation. But it has been becoming more clearly evident that he was one of the greatest, if not the greatest scholar just before the Reformation. Baird says: "To Lefevre belongs the honor of restoring letters to France." His eulogist, Scaevola de Saint-Marthe, has not exaggerated his merit, when, placing him in the front rank of the learned men whom he celebrates, he likens the Picard doctor:

"To a new sun rising from the Belgian coast to dissipate the fogs and darkness investing his native land and pour upon its youth the full beams of a purer learning. Lefevre confined his attention to no single branch of learning. He was equally proficient in mathematics, in astronomy, in Biblical literature and criticism. Brilliant attainments in so many departments were commended yet more to the admiration of beholders by a modest and unassuming deportment, by morals above re-

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by a disinterested nature in which there was no
avarice."

Erasmus could say, "Among the thousands of the men of France, there is only one Lefevre," we can realize the position that he held in the learned world. One of his cotemporaries, wrote to him (1513), "the most philosophical of the philosophers." In Erasmus declared that "Lefevre was a man so pious, so learned, having rendered such great service to and literature that he merited never to grow old." Wish of Erasmus came as nearly being fulfilled as Lefevre grew old until he became a centenarian, to Doumergue. Compared with him Erasmus and the two great humanists of that day, were as boys, was old enough to be their grandfather. Lefevre was humanism before Erasmus ever knew humanism. His greatest glory was that he was the first to dethrone Platonic theology of the Catholic Church which had come from the middle ages. And this he did before Luther. Hails him "one of the noblest of men of earth, if one considers his learning, his piety, his generosity. For he was the man by living voice and very learned writings had placed in the university of Paris, mathematics and the true of Aristotle in place of the sophistry which before had been." Beza hails him as:

"The man who boldly began the revival of the pure religion of Jesus Christ; that just as in ancient times the school Isocrates sent forth the best orators, so from the lecture room of the doctor of Etaples (Lefevre) issued many of the best men of the age and of the Church."

And so it develops that this man, who has hovered around the early history of the Reformation as a phantom, was a far greater force than has hitherto been supposed. It used to be said that "Erasmus laid the egg of the Reformation and Luther hatched it." But now it appears that Lefevre laid the egg of the Reformation even before Erasmus and that the Reformers hatched it. For he seems to have been the father of all the great Reformers of the first generation except Melancthon, who was especially influenced by his relative,

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Reuchlin. For Lefevre influenced, either directly or indirectly, Luther, Zwingli, Farel and Lasco; and of them Luther and Farel directly. He therefore stands out as the leader of the thinkers of the age before the Reformation and the father of the Reformers. He might well be named the "Father of the Reformation."

Prof. James Lefevre was born,—ah, here comes the first surprise. The view formerly held was that he was born about 1455. But Doumergue places his birth about 1435 and very ably defends it in his "Life of Calvin." This date would make Lefevre a centenarian when he died. It would make him an old man (over 70) before the Reformation broke out. Indeed his efforts in the Reformation were made at a time in life when most men go into retirement. Yet at that age he entered into the thick of the battle. He has been criticized for not having done more for the Reformation; the wonder was, that in view of his great age, he did so much.

Not only the time when he was born is significant, but also the place. He was born at Etaples in Picardy in northeastern France. His real name was Faber and he has come down to us as Faber Stapulensis or Faber of Etaples. But he has been known to us in English mainly as Lefevre. Now it was from this very same district of Picardy that John Calvin later came. Indeed the Picards were noted as original thinkers and leaders, for to Lefevre and Calvin can be added a third Reformer—the great Reformer of philosophy in the Reformation—Peter Ramus. And other leaders, as Roussel, the eloquent preacher in the French Reformation; Olivetan, the great translator of the Bible into French; Vatable, Calvin's teacher of Hebrew, and Beda, the great opponent of Protestantism in the Reformation at Paris, all came from this district of Picardy.

Lefevre went from Picardy to Paris for his education. His great hindrance was the barbarous instruction he received, both in Picardy and Paris. But all sorts of obstacles melted away before his extraordinary mind. He struggled up into knowledge "like one clambering up the Rigi mountain to see the sun gilding the peaks of an Alpine range." But he kept on climbing and so got to the top of his profession.

The materials of his early life in the century before the Reformation are meagre. He not only studied at Paris but

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himself by much travel, both in France and other indeed is said to have traveled as far as Asia. year 1492 he took a journey to Italy. He visited Rome and Venice, where he studied Platonism andianism and also the works of the mystics. In Italy into contact with Picus of Mirandola, who by his of the Romish Church, was one of the immediate s of the Reformation. He then became professor ematics and philosophy in the college of Cardinal e at Paris. There he was greatly beloved by his pupils ability, piety, modesty and gentleness. But he was far beyond his lecture room by his Latin translations Church Fathers and his Commentary on the Works of e. One of the studies that most influenced him was Hieronymus; who, about the middle of the 15th c ad been driven westward by the Turkish invasion of ntinople.

ut though the details of his life in that early period are g, its results were not. McCrie, one of the Church his- s of Scotland, says "Lefevre merits the title of 'Father French Literature,' not so much for the books he pub- l as for the intellectual stimulus he gave to that age ugh his scholars. The greater part of the Frenchmen who nglished themselves in the first part of the sixteenth cen- y were either trained under him or in some way indebted his instructions." That statement of McCrie's is borne out the fact that the most distinguished men of the early part f the sixteenth century were his pupils. They were Briéon- et, later bishop of Meaux, one of the most influential church- men of his age; Vatable, one of the finest teachers of Hebrew and later Calvin's teacher; Roussel, the confessor of Margaret, Queen of Navarre and sister of king Francis I of France, and others. Perhaps most eminent among his pupils was William Bude, who led king Francis I, who was the patron of humanism, to establish royal lectures in Paris, so that instruction might be given in Greek, Hebrew and mathematics, wholly in the spirit of the renaissance. This was done with such a zeal for the new learning of humanism as to rouse the hostility of the Sorbonne at Paris. Out of these royal

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lectures grew later the College of France.

Lefevre's class room was the place where the seeds of the Reformation were very early sown. Out of it came William Farel, the fiery herald of Protestantism and the co-laborer of Calvin; Louis de Berquin, who was the first in France to give his life as a martyr to the new faith, and others. Reformers of other lands came into contact with Lefevre when they visited Paris, as Lasco of Poland. In fact, all the early Reformers of France grew out of his class room or through his influence. But perhaps greatest of all, as Beza says, was his attack on the scholastic theology that had ruled the universities. He denounced it as barbarism. His conflict with it and victory over it were the stepping stones to the Reformation.

In 1509 occurred an event destined to be epochal in his life. Though still professor, he went to live with bishop Briçonnet in the great monastery at St. Germain de Pres in Paris. There he lived as abbot for thirteen years. This close connection with Briçonnet, who had been his principal pupil, brought him into close contact with the court of France; especially as later, Roussel, another of his pupils, became confessor of Queen Margaret. It was through Lefevre that Queen Margaret, the "Esther of the French court," was converted to Evangelical views. Her brother, King Francis I, was favorable to humanism and hated alike the bigotry of the monks and the tyranny of the priests. It was owing to this close relationship of Lefevre to the French court, that he did not pay his life as a forfeit for his Evangelical views. Nothing but the royal protection ever permitted him to die a natural death in the midst of so much persecution as Protestantism suffered in France during his life.

The other important result of his entrance into this monastery was due to its large and important library. There he turned to study and especially to the study of the Bible; for the cloister library gave him much material. And this study of the Bible made him a Reformer. Though at least fifty years of age and probably seventy (according to Doumergue) he began to set aside profane studies and to search the Bible. The result of this was the publication of his first work on this subject—the Psalms, "Quintuplex Psalterium."

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show his importance, let us institute a comparison. The epoch-making events of the Reformation was the translation of the New Testament in Greek by Erasmus in 1516. Its great importance is shown by the fact that before publication, scholars, if they wanted to get hold of the Greek of the New Testament, had no way but to go to the Church Fathers and pick out here and there a verse or two from the New Testament. The Latin language had become the language of the Catholic Church and this so completely that it had crushed out the Greek. When therefore this New Testament appeared, it did not take long for former men to see the difference between it and the Romish Church of their day. Erasmus therefore very worthily acquired great fame from this publication. But pause a moment. The Erasmus did so great a thing, Lefevre had long been at work on an effort just as important. As early as 1509, three years before Erasmus had published his New Testament, he had published the Psalms, which was only the beginning of a great work of Bible publication, far more extensive and important than Erasmus, as we shall see. This work on the Psalms was in Latin. It contained five versions of the Psalms: 1. The Roman translation. 2. The Second Roman version—Gallican. 3. The translation from the Hebrew by the early Church Father, Jerome. 4. The translation before Jerome. 5. Lefevre's own translation, with a critical and exegetical commentary. He published this work in order that students of the Bible might get new light and a deeper insight into the meaning of that sacred book by a comparison of the translations.

Now in doing this he began to depart from a great doctrine of the Catholics that the Vulgate was the sacred translation. But more significant than this is a remark that he makes in the book. In its preface he says "that all his studies in human knowledge (and he had been at them for perhaps a half a century) were only as darkness compared with the brilliant light revealed by the study of the Scriptures." He compared this study of divine things "to the exhalation of a perfume to whose sweetness the world has no equal." Thus somewhere about the time that Luther was making his first discovery of a Bible at Erfurt, Lefevre had

published the results of his study of the Bible. Lefevre was thus the Aurora—the daybreak of the Reformation, of which Wycklife had been the Morning Star.

And now comes a most interesting fact about this work of Lefevre's. It has been hitherto supposed that Lefevre was the father of the French Reformation, but it was not known that he affected the early Lutheran Reformation. Luther began his lectures on the Psalms at Wittenberg about 1512. What was the book that he used? It was none other than Lefevre's work on the Psalms, for Luther's copy of the work has been found, containing his own notes in it. An attempt has been made by German Church historians to make everything in the Reformation to be indebted to Luther—that every other Reformation came from the German Reformation. The attempt has been made to make Lefevre indebted to Luther. But this recent discovery has turned the tables completely. Lefevre was not indebted to Luther, but Luther to Lefevre and in two ways.

1. He used this work of Lefevre in his Lectures.

2. He used Lefevre's method of exegesis. Lefevre broke the way for a better exegesis than the exaggerated allegorizing method of the Catholics. Lefevre began to see that the Bible must be interpreted by itself and not according to the Church fathers or according to the allegorizing method in use before that time, by which each text had to have at least four ways of being interpreted: literal, allegorical, topical, and analogical. He made a beginning of this new method in his work on the Psalms. True, it was only a beginning and he still was largely affected by the old allegorizing method. For he allegorized the Psalms somewhat and made them refer to Christ. Still he began the new method which he later improved. And this method Luther began adopting.

Another interesting fact about this book of Lefevre's is that a copy of it came into the library of Zwingli also. In our days, it is true, the mere presence of a book in a man's library does not count for much, because of the multitude of books that are published. But in those days, when books were scarce and very expensive, the owner would not put his money into a book unless he was really interested in it. The presence of a book in a library counted for much more in those

days than it would now. Thus the presence of heretical books in a man's library was then counted as proof positive that he was heretical. Remembering this, the presence of this book in Zwingli's library is significant. And what makes it more significant is the fact that Zwingli wrote his own notes on it in the pages of the book, showing that he studied it. And it doubtless began affecting his method of exegesis as he revealed it later by making the Bible its own interpreter.

If the year 1509 was an epochal one for Lefevre, the year 1512 was more significant and for two things: He published a new book and he got a new pupil.

The first was the publication of Lefevre's work on the Pauline Epistles. This is important, for Doumergue calls it "the first Protestant book," published five years before Luther's theses. And for that reason, he calls Lefevre "the first of the Reformers."

The second great event for Lefevre was that he got a new student in William Farel, one of the greatest of the Reformers and the co-laborer of Calvin. Farel so frequently referred in his writings to his association with Lefevre that these cast a very interesting sidelight into Lefevre's relation to the Reformation. So Lefevre was not only the first Protestant, but he also raised up the first great leader of French Protestantism, Farel.

William Farel was born at Gap and about 1509 went to Paris to study. He graduated there in 1517 and left that city in 1521 to follow Lefevre to Meaux. The descriptions he has left reveal very vividly Lefevre's life. His first description of Lefevre is as a strict Catholic when he first came to know him. He says:

"Prof. James Lefevre bowed down lower before the images than any other person I had seen in my life. He would stay for an immense time on his knees, praying and telling his beads before those images. And I would join him in doing so. I was delighted to have found such a man, slave as he was to the pope and believing those things (Farel was at that time a strict papist, 'more papistic than the pope himself,' he says) which are most detestable in popish idolatry."

But it was this same Lefevre who led Farel out of these superstitions to Christ. For Lefevre would frequently tell his

young disciple: "All things are gone wrong, dear William, and some day God will make all things new. You may perhaps see it." That prophecy came true. Farel not merely saw that day, but Lefevre also. And Lefevre would also denounce to him some of the evils of the Catholic Church. "How disagreeable," he says, "is it to see a bishop asking men to drink with him, gambling, rattling the dice, spending his time with hawks and dogs and in hunting, hallowing after rooks and deer and following after such company."

But important as was Farel's coming to him, his publication of his new work on the Pauline Epistles was equally important. It was a Latin translation of, and commentary on, the Letters of Paul. In it he enlarged upon what he had hinted at in his work on the Psalms in 1509. "This book," says Doumergue, "may in a certain sense be called the first Protestant book." This is because it was published five years before Luther's theses and for that reason may be called the first Protestant book. It makes Lefevre the first of the Reformers. In it he speaks of the necessity of a reformation in the Church. He says:

"The Church rather follows the examples of its leaders and is far removed from what it ought to be. The signs of the times foretell a new revival. And since God has opened new ways for the preaching of the Gospel through the discoveries and conquests of the Spaniards and Portugese in all parts of the world, we hope that he will also visit his Church and again lift her up from the humiliation into which she has fallen."

His favorite idea that "God would renew the world," so often expressed to Farel, appears in this work. "God in his great mercy," he says, will soon revive the expiring spark in the hearts of men so that faith and love and a purer worship will return. "Well, he was old enough to be a prophet and he proved to be a true prophet.

This book reveals Lefevre's independence of Rome in several important respects.

I. In the preface, contrary to the common Catholic tradition, which makes Jerome the early Church Father to be the author of the Vulgate, he took the position that Jerome was not the author of the Vulgate. Now to deny that Jerome was the

author of Vulgate version was going straight against the decree of the Catholic Church. He thus began an era of criticism, which ultimately led to a breach with the Romish Church. And he not only denied this to Jerome, but he began departing from the Vulgate, as he soon tried to correct it according to the Greek.

2. But more important and significant for Protestantism was his declaration for the authority of the Bible; and this supremacy of the Bible would logically interfere with the supremacy of the Church's authority. He boldly says:

"It is there (in the Bible) where the doctrine of Christ is found. And those who will study it, will draw water with joy from the Savior's spring." "Let us exalt Christ our king by studying him in the holy oracles. Let us not follow the precepts and dogmas of men, which have no foundation in the light that has shone from on high."

3. But more significant than either of these was his clear enunciation of the doctrine of justification by faith. He held that salvation was not of works, but was by grace—the free gift of God. He says:

"It is almost blasphemous to talk of the merit of works especially before God. For a merit does not seem to ask for grace, but to exact what is due: to attribute merit to works is to have the opinion of those who think that we can be justified by works, an error for which the Jews were particularly condemned. Therefore let us not speak of the merit of our works, which is very small indeed, rather worthless. And let us exalt the grace of God which is everything. One can attribute real merit to no one but Christ, who has deserved everything for us: But as for ourselves, let us acknowledge that we have no merit before God and hope in his grace." "But you say, has any one ever been justified without the works of the law, either written or natural?" Yes, there have been such and without number. Who knows not that the penitent thief was justified by faith alone." "By works without faith it is impossible to be justified; by faith without works, it is possible."

"It is God alone who by His grace justifies unto everlasting life. There is a righteousness of works, there is a righteousness of grace: the one is earthly and passeth away, the other is heavenly and eternal: one is the shadow and the sign, the other, the light and the truth: one makes sin known

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to us that we may escape death, the other reveals grace we may obtain life."

When asked by his hearers in his lectures, 'If we are justified by works what is the use of performing them?' answer was:

"Certainly, they are not in vain. If I hold a mirror to the sun, its image is reflected; the more I polish and clean the brighter is its reflection. But if I allow it to become tarnished, the splendor of the sun is dimmed. It is the same with justification (he really means sanctification) in those who lead an impure life."

His objectors answered, "Then St. James did not mean with St. Paul?" Lefevre's reply was:

"St. James says, in the first chapter, that every good perfect gift cometh down from above. Can you deny that salvation is a good and perfect gift. It is true, works are necessary sign of faith, just as breathing is a necessary sign of life. But a man breathes because he is alive. If he did not breathe, you would know that he is dead. A man is justified by faith, and works then follow as a necessity."

He does not stop here, but goes on to show how God could be just and yet deal with guilty sinners,—he could punish sinners and yet spare the sinner. He said:

"Wonderful exchange, the Innocent One is condemned and the criminal acquitted, the Blessed One is cursed and he who is cursed is blessed, the life dies and the dead live, the glory is covered with shame and he who is put to shame is covered with glory. And all from God's free and sovereign love. Those who are saved are saved because God chose it—by grace, by the will of God, not by their own will. Our own choice, our own will, our own works are useless, it is the choice of God, that alone is the cause of our salvation. When we are converted, it is not conversion that makes us to be God's chosen people; but it is the grace, will and choice of God that makes us to be converted people. And not converted people only, God makes us to be members of the body of his Son so that we are filled with himself; for in Christ dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily. Oh if men could but understand this privilege, how purely, how holily would they live. They would look upon all the glory of this world as dung. They would delight themselves in that glory which is hidden from the eyes of the flesh." "There is but one foundation, one object

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Jesus Christ, blessed forevermore. Let us not call
Peter Paul or Apollos or Peter. One is our Master,

Le fevre, says Doumergue, not only posits the two
positions of Protestantism, the supremacy of
and justification by faith; but he also attacks the
catholicism. One of these was the magic of the
He says:

washing with material water in baptism does not
but it is the sign of justification by faith in Christ:
visible symbols are the signs of things and divine

so attacked the reality of the mass. He opposes the
atum" in the Lord's Supper or the idea of sacrifice
s. In commenting on Hebrews where Christ satis-
e sins of the whole world by his sacrifice alone,

which is performed every day by the ministry of
is not so much repeated sacrifices as the remem-
d recollection of the one and only victim who was
t once." "It is said every time that you do this 'do
embrance of me,' for he has satisfied for us all. And
no other mysteries save in the presence of his body
od. The remembrance of the divine sacrifice and
tion is beneficial to all and more acceptable to God
ny other sacrifice of satisfaction unto the end of the

le thus denies transubstantiation, though he held to a
presence of Christ of some sort, which later reappeared
spiritual theory of Christ's presence, formulated by his
ssor, Calvin.

In addition to attacking the sacraments, he also attacked:
1. The celibacy of the priests, saying of it that the Church
fallen into the snare of the devil.

2. Lent and the practise of fasting. Also tithes, monstery,
He says:

"There are men nowadays who teach a foolish godliness
and of Christ's doctrine. What does it profit me to fast
Lents or to pay my tithes? Why trust myself to formulas
by unknown authors and leave aside the prescrip-

tions of the apostles. Why die in the cassock when one has lived his whole life in the secular habit? No such thing is ordered in Christ's doctrine. The balance may be more superstitious than religious. Let us therefore attach ourselves to Christ alone and to the doctrine of the apostles, for it is sufficient and it is first and paramount for salvation."

3. The use of the Latin language in the Catholic worship. He declared that most of the people prayed without understanding what they prayed and so they did not pray in the Spirit.

We thus see how Protestant this book is, for these were all of them sound Protestant positions and for that reason he could be called a Protestant. It was truly a remarkable book for its day. Its advanced ideas did not pass unnoticed by the Catholics, although at the time its true import and significance was not realized. There were several reasons for this:

1. One was that they were written in Latin and so reached only the learned.

2. The times were not ripe for such a book. The abuses of the indulgences had not become a scandal as five years later when Luther nailed up the theses.

3. Lefevre was a different sort of man from Luther. He has commonly been represented as a quiet, mystical sort of scholar. That is not exactly true. He could fight (as we shall see) when attacked. But he was not the polemist that Luther was. Luther was the offensive theologian, Lefevre the defensive. But he was not the quiet sort of man hitherto supposed, for he could hit back hard when attacked.

All these things prevented this book from creating the sensation later created by Luther, although this book was far more Protestant than Luther's theses, which had little of what is distinctively Protestant in them.

But what makes this book still more significant as a source of the Reformation, is that it has been discovered that Luther possessed a copy of it and used it in his lectures at the university at Wittenberg. He used it up to 1516 or 1517 when the New Testament of Erasmus came into his hands. Luther therefore was indebted to Lefevre. The German Church historians have labored to make all the rest of the

Reformation to be indebted to Luther. Zwingli, say Harnack and Loofs and Seeborg, got his ideas from Luther. We will answer this claim in regard to Zwingli elsewhere. They also claim that Lefevre was indebted to Luther.* But the recent discovery of Luther's copy of Lefevre's Commentary has proved that Luther utilized Lefevre. No, Lefevre stated the doctrine of justification in 1512 before Luther held to that doctrine. That doctrine was not formulated till the Reformation. And Lefevre's book was the only one in which that doctrine of justification by faith was first formulated. So Luther got its formulated statement from him. We thus see how Luther was indebted to Lefevre. Luther was not the first Reformer as the Germans claim, but Lefevre. Luther speaks highly of Lefevre for he later says he feared "Erasmus did not sufficiently promote the cause of Christ and the grace of God, in which he was more ignorant than Lefevre."

It has been objected by those who favor Luther, that Lefevre was not a Reformer, because he did not do something like burning the pope's bull as Luther did or write a work such as Calvin's "Institutes of Theology." Well there were others whom the world recognizes as Reformers besides Luther and Calvin and yet they did not burn a bull or write an Institutes. Neither Bullinger or Beza did any such things, yet they are rated as Reformers. Each man became a Reformer according to his own disposition and circumstances. There were different kinds of Reformers and Lefevre was one of them.

But again it is objected that Lefevre held to some Catholic doctrines. That is true, for when he published this work he seems still to have held to prayers to the saints and purgatory and did not attack the constitution of the Catholic Church. But neither was Luther a Protestant when he nailed the theses up at Wittenberg. He still held to the invocation of the saints and transubstantiation and other Romish doctrines. The truth seems to be that Lefevre was as much a Protestant in 1512 as Luther in 1517 and more so. Thus Farel, in 1522, says of Luther, that the gospel was hindered in France by the reading of Luther's earlier works, because they were not ex-

* Doumergue has ably answered this in his Life of Calvin, Vol. I, pages 542-555.

purgated from such Romanizing ideas as prayers to the saints, purgatory and transubstantiation.

Again some have objected to Lefevre's being a Reformer because he did not directly break off from Catholicism and come out squarely as a Protestant. Neither did Luther at first. He did not really break with the Catholic Church until it began to break with him. It forced the issue. We shall take up this special point about Lefevre later. Suffice it to say just now, that the charge of timidity that used to be made against Lefevre and which, it was said, kept him from leaving the Catholic Church, must now be revised in the light of what Prof. Doumergue has brought forth. Lefevre got into too many controversies after this to have been a timid man.

This doctrine of justification by free grace, taught in this book, he taught to Farel, who in later years wrote "Lefevre extricated me from the false opinion of human merits and taught me that everything came from grace, which I believed as soon as it was spoken." Farel also says "Lefevre turned me from the false thought that I could deserve anything of God." He said, "We have no merits at all. All is of grace or of God's pure mercy to those who deserve nothing. And this I believed as soon as it was told me."

We now come to the period when Lefevre shows his fighting mettle. The first controversy was a humanistic controversy in 1514 between the humanists and obscurantists. John Pfferkorn, a converted Jew, and Jacob Hochstratten, a Dominican inquisitor, had insisted on the banishment of the Jews and the destruction of their writings. The emperor Maximilian, to settle the controversy, finally required an opinion from Reuchlin. This great Humanist, who was the finest Hebraist of his day, with great ability defended Hebrew literature. Pfferkorn published Reuchlin's opinion with abusive comments, denounced him as a heretic and had him brought before the bishop of Spires for trial. The whole literary and theological world of that day was drawn into the contest. On the one side were the monks and on the other the humanists. Reuchlin was acquitted by the court. But the battle between the two parties continued to rage until Count Francis Von Sickingen forced the monks to pay the costs of prosecution and to

make an honorable reparation to Reuchlin. In this great controversy, the greatest just before the Reformation, where did Lefevre stand? Was he timid? Not at all. He boldly defended Reuchlin. Thus in a letter of August 30, 1514, he wrote to Reuchlin: "If you triumph, we triumph with you."

The next great controversy into which Lefevre entered was directly against Catholic ideas. It occurred in 1517, the very year Luther nailed up his theses. Lefevre ventured to battle with the Sorbonne at Paris. The previous year, he had published a second edition of his Commentary on Paul's Epistles, which contained so much about justification as we have seen. Now he also published another work on Mary Magdalene. This attacked a favorite view of the Catholics, indeed one that was incorporated in their liturgy for the Church Lessons set down for festival days. It thus had official sanction. It was that the three Marys of the New Testament, Mary Magdalene, Mary of Bethany, and Mary who anointed Jesus' feet, were one and the same person. Lefevre declared that they were not one but were three different persons. He discussed it as a mere academic question, but it raised a tremendous storm. The Sorbonne at Paris, led by Beda, loudly attacked it. The Franciscans, Carmelites, Dominicans vomited forth insults on the author of this heresy. They called him "stupid," "impious," "ignorant." A great polemical controversy arose. In this storm, what did Lefevre do? Did he do, as we have hitherto been led to believe (because he was such a timid character), be silent or recant? Not at all. He boldly replied to these attacks. Yes, he even went farther than before. He added another idea that seemed to them heretical. He declared that Anna, the husband of Mary, had not three husbands and three daughters as they believed, but one husband and one daughter. When warned by a friend that the publication of one of his books would expose him to the fire, he replied:

"I fear nothing. I do not believe there can be danger when we drive error from the minds of Christians in order to show them the truth. If some condemn me and my book to the fire, I will pray against the fire that the dew from heaven will put it out. I will forgive them."

These are not the words of a coward but of a martyr.

Thus a tremendous polemic grew around Lefevre. Repeated attacks on him were published. Replies were made to them by his friends as Clichtove and Agrippa of Nettesheim To Beda, Lefevre's unpardonable offence was that he, a professor in the philosophical department of the university, should presume to investigate matters that belonged only to the doctors of theology of the Sorbonne. The bishop of Paris appealed to Fisher, the bishop of Rochester in England, who published two tracts against Lefevre and Clichtove. They responded and he replied. Thus there was a battle of books. But in it all Lefevre never lost his courage or proved the weakling he has hitherto been supposed to be. Farel, writing of this controversy, says: Inasmuch as Master Faber had a great deal more learning than all the doctors of Paris, he was persecuted by them for that reason. And I began thereby to see the meanness of those doctors and esteemed them no longer as I had done." Great was the uproar among the students of the university as Lefevre taught his new doctrines. They began to occupy themselves almost as much with the doctrines of the Gospel as with their studies and comedies.

Finally the university of Paris on November 9, 1521, issued a decree that he was a heretic because he maintained that the three Marys were not one person. Thus six months after the university ordered Luther's books to be burned there, Lefevre was condemned. Luther's works since 1519 had been coming into France. Beda and the Sorbonne detested and feared Luther; but lo! they had a Luther in their midst in Lefevre. Beda wanted to bring Lefevre before parliament as a heretic. But just then the royal friendship of King Francis and Queen Margaret intervened for Lefevre and the process against him was stopped. Such was the storm that Lefevre raised and nothing saved him but the royal intervention. But meanwhile Lefevre had escaped from the power of his enemies. He had left Paris early in 1521 and gone to Meaux, about thirty miles from Paris, at the invitation of bishop Briçonnet, who had been one of his students. There he was safe.

During this controversy around him, Lefevre was also passing through a change within himself. At the beginning of 1519 he published the "Legends of the Saints" or the "Acts of the Martyrs." This was a collection of legends intended

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up at the prospect he seemed to behold, exclaimed: "the gospel is winning the hearts of the nobles and of the common people alike. Soon it will spread all over France cast down the inventions which the hand of man has cast up." "Then," angrily retorted De Roma, a Dominican monk, "Then I and others like me will join in preaching a crusade, and should the King tolerate me we will drive him from his kingdom by means of his subjects." Lefevre wrote to Farel, July 6, 1524:

"You can scarcely imagine with what ardor God is moving the minds of the simple in some places to embrace His Word since the books of the New Testament have been published in France, though you will justly lament that they have not been scattered more widely among the people. The attempt has been made to hinder the work under cover of the authority of parliament; but our most gracious King has become in this matter the defender of Christ's cause, declaring it to be his pleasure that his kingdom shall hear the Word of God freely and without hinderance in the language which it understands. At present throughout our entire diocese on feast days and especially on Sunday, both the epistle and gospel are read to the people in the vernacular tongue and the parish priest adds a word of exhortation to the epistle or gospel both at his discretion."

Lambert of Avignon also wrote hopefully, January 20, 1523, to the Elector of Saxony: "France is almost entirely in the Evangelical movement." A cotemporary, chronicling in 1526, said that Meaux was full of the false doctrine of Luther. He made the cause of all the trouble to be Lefevre, a priest and scholar, who rejected pictures from the Churches, forbade the use of holy water for the dead and denied the existence of purgatory.

And now begins to appear another great labor of Lefevre's, which revealed his Protestantism. Lefevre, says Dömergue, was not only the first Reformer but also the Biblical Reformer,—that is, he was the first great translator of the Bible into the vernacular. His work on the Psalms and on the Pauline Epistles was followed in 1522 by his Commentaries on the Gospels. In it he maintained "that the Word of God and not the doctrines of men point out the way of salvation. He prayed for a return to the pure faith of the Church of

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Greek and Hebrew until in 1534 he published critical edition. This edition (1534) was also considered so dangerous in the Netherlands where it was published that it departed from the sacred and of Trent, because it was destroyed. It was destroyed by a fervent desire to promote the spiritual countrymen. Only one, who has the Protestant principles believed in one of the fundamental principles which was denied by Romanism, namely, that be placed in the hands of the common people could ever have been lead to undertake such taking. Lefevre's translation was the basis of Luther, which it preceded by four years Swiss Reformed translation of Zurich into it synchronized.

In 1525 came the great test of Lefevre his bishop, had called down on himself the public authorities around him by his Evangelical the leader of Romanism, was especially active Beda that Erasmus once declared: "In over 3,000 monks." In 1525 came the opportunity of Protestantism. The king of France was and taken prisoner to Spain. In his a seized the opportunity to visit Margaret Briçonnet, the more helpless as Francis. Briçonnet Paris. It took action against Lefevre. It introduced the moral courage to resist Francis. Briçonnet issued a decree, at the order of parliament, against Luther's doctrines. Lefevre was very awkwardly he go back on his Evangelical views as he would have done so hitherto depicted by his biographers. No, his Evangelical views had he been the do so, he fled to Germany and go back to Rome, went to Strassburg where they were

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at her court at Nerac, where he
trated his attention more and mo.
Bible.

But the papal party did not go
back. A letter of the papal nuncio
1531, has recently been exhumed in
showed that there was correspondence
the papal Church about him. Aleand
expressed himself in favor of making

"Lefevre's 'few errors' had at one
great moment, because they were published
change or correct the most insignificant
translation of the Scriptures when applied
was an unheard of innovation. But by that
more important questions had come to
the mere matter of re-translation with
sound doctrine seemed to be of little or
Lefevre but leave the heretical company,
and make but the least bit of retraction
passages and the whole matter would be

"But though this effort was thus taken
out of it, probably because Lefevre was too
gelical principles.

Just two years before Lefevre's death, there
significant events in his life. The first was the
to him. Calvin was staying at Angouleme while
far from Nerac, and he visited Lefevre at
1534. Calvin, like all French Protestants of
himself indebted to Lefevre. For although he
a pupil of Lefevre's, yet it had been a pupil
Roussel, who seems to have exerted great influence
at the crisis of his life, his conversion. It is a remarkable
incidence that just at the time that Lefevre had
published a better French version of the Scripture
before existed, there should come to him the
John Calvin, who was to reduce the doctrines of
to an orderly arrangement in his "Institutes of
When Calvin arrived at the chateaux and asked for
they told him Lefevre was "a little bit of a man,
Herod, but as lively as gunpowder." Beza says the
received the young man and looked upon him with

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as Elijah transferred his mission a
his mantle fell to earth from the fie.
Lefevre here transferred the spiritual
Reformation to Calvin.

The second important event of
"Mass of Seven Points." When Lef
from Strassburg to live with King F
garet, was it on condition that he g
views and customs? Not at all.
strongly as ever. If he had not, he
a Reformer. But just because he re
to be a Reformer, for he had suff
garet's court, her chaplain, Roussel,
And he celebrated the Lord's Su
Protestant fashion. By 1534 it is evide
still held by the Reformers of Nerac.
they had not given up hope of gaining
France, over to their views. For the
was the last attempt of Margaret to gain
over to Evangelical views. It was m
1534 when she visited him at Paris.
placards against the mass had been poste
her brother was just then very angry aga
He replied to her proposal: "You was ne
sacraments." She replied that it was ne
to unite the whole Church under one man,
but that the priests ought to be stripped
doctrines and superstitious practices that
the Church of its primitive beauty. She ha
advantage of the king's weak side—glory,
the glory he could get, by being an instru
the Church. She then took from her pocket
her request Lefevre had drawn up for hi
Nerac. It was a Confession of Faith known
Seven Points." Its contents were as follows:
1. It will be a public communion (no
priests alone).
2. He will not lift up the host before
3. There will be no adoration of the hos

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"The excellent man, Jam^e, who has been one of the mos^t himself cruelly persecuted in bonne, retired to Nerac, close sister of King Francis I. T received that excellent old m^a him often about many seriou having planned to dine with hi ber of learned persons. Duri very sad and sometimes shed t asked of him the cause, rally sadness instead of contributi Madame,' he replied to her, 'I tributing to those of others, be She replied, 'What so great sir seem to have conducted before and innocent?' 'Madame,' he of 101 without having touche remember to have any fault c to charge me. But I have one to be expiated.' The Queen l himself to her. 'Madame,' said can I stand before the judgme purity taught the Gospel of his have suffered death for it, w avoid it, and that at an age, wh rather to have longed for it.' eloquent and who was not igno a beautiful discourse to him, shc the same thing was attained by who reigned with God in heave some great sin which one foun despair of the mercy and goodn at the table joined their consolati The good old man was streng rest,' said he, 'until I have mad for I believe that he calls me.' Queen, he said, 'Madame, I mak books to Mr. Roussel, and I giv to the poor. The rest I commen ingly said, 'But what of the 'Madame,' the care of dividing will do so,' replied the queen, 'a have more joy in that than if make me his heiress.' Lefevre th he had yet been and said, 'Mada pose.' And to those at the tab laid himself on his bed and at

PROF. J

with the Protestants. Th
ism, as Doumergue calls
such a movement could not
fail. The Romish Church
reformed, she was too corr
lived later he would soon h
Church by the logic of ever
first Protestant school, the
within the Romish Church
criticized as it has been. I
historically in the development
Meaux came the first and t
of Nerac came the great Pi
And from Lefevre came Far
for this school to disappear.
ing it, did not want it to co
Lefevre the Lefevre type of
the new type of Calvinism came
"When Lefevre died, the age o
age of Calvinism was to begin.
his school occupy an interesting
important link in the Reformation
made. And Lefevre, little but gra
ing like a tiger against the scholars
when men usually fold their sail
their days, no wonder he at last wa
But he stands out in the early Re
grand figure, especially as we see th
caught his inspiration, Luther, Zwingli,
around him to reform the world.

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the Virgin and saints. But a person go, so that we can reply, until a man has a definition you can't apply that test to that will do for Protestant of the leaders of the War Catholics are converted but not go through our sense longer have any conscience conscience for them. We can't apply the Reformation experience of both Luther sufficient fullness to enable if belief in justification by faith how was it with Luther? doctrine just after the these Romish doctrines as purgatory converted.

Again, take the second, when he throws off the papal means, at the or later when he entirely breaks

Or take the third, — was reformed only his city? or did of his country?

There is a truth in each of together in the discussion of show as we discuss the matter was first in each of these stages Zwingli's conversion and then I

A—THE CONVERSATION

The conversion of Zwingli We can study it according to the book, "The Famous Reformers of

* We have taken it up in our book, "The Famous Reformers of

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ken from the truth or allow liars. But the doctrines of d which is infallible." Such And we know that Zwingli iy years after when he drew rst Protestant Lord's Supper i Surgant's ideas. The im- wingli was doubtless deepened i Basle, Christopher of Utene synod of Basle and ordered st preach the Gospel accord- he read on Sunday. These perimental religion probably

ie to Basle until 1505, in the the question has come up as before Wytttenbach came there. en made.

ut Catholic until Wytttenbach opened his eyes to the Evan- e. This was the old view.

Zwingli came to Basle already humanism especially through id others. And that when he is sophistries of the scholastic university of Basle, his liberal rrowness and he inclined to This is the view held by the Stahelin. And it would seem : Myconius, the first biographer Basle :

se of things demanded it, he in the scholastic form. What since it was such a jumble of d, inane loquacities, barbarities, escription, that no sane doctrine in it."

while at Basle came under sus- he defended some of the theses Mirandola, which had been con-

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denmed by the pope. Of this influence
later.

One thing, however, is certain, that
these views is held, Wytttenbach became
in Zwingli's life. For Wytttenbach became
tendencies that had been Wytttenbach con-
to them others which made him in Zwingli be-
reformatory views. Fortunate was it
came under the tutelage of such a man
yet so holy and spiritual.

As the life of Wytttenbach is compa-
his value in Reformation history is just /
nized, we will pause upon it. He was an
Lefevre, whose fame was recognized a
though humble, he was Evangelical even
as we have seen was Evangelical bef-
Zwingli. As early as 1506, twelve years
taught at Basle the two fundamental do-
ism, namely, (1) the supreme authority
salvation by Christ and not through Ma-
before either Luther or Zwingli denou-
dulgences, he denounced them as a fraud
Luther at Wittenberg, he had a dispu-
Basle in 1506. So that in Wytttenbach t
other Reformer beside Lefevre, who w
may, however, be replied that there we
Wytttenbach, who, although in the Cath-
indulgences. Thus John Wessels, one c
fore the Reformation," was imprisoned
indulgences. But we reply that Wessel
of a different class from Wytttenbach.
directly connected with the Reformati-
was very directly connected with it.]
its founders. And he himself later bec-
For he later became the Reformer of Bi-
Luther was made a Reformer by nailir-
Wytttenbach was an earlier Reformer
thing at Basle in 1506.

Thomas Wytttenbach was born at
Bern, in 1472. He was the son of th,

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the school in his native town and universities to study for the priesthood. university of Tübingen in southern ned Reuchlin, the leader with Eras-aught. Reuchlin's Evangelical tend-fact that in 1499, while at Stuttgard, lks of the neighboring monastery of of preaching. This work was pub-veals its Evangelical tendency in urging acquainted with the Bible. It is easy ngs of such a man would influence an like Wytttenbach. The latter remained lts, taking the degree of Master of Arts en he also came under the influence of taught him that many of the things ency would have to be set aside and that a renovation of theology from Scripture thers.

In Wytttenbach went to Basle in November the university he lectured on the great text-m at that time, the "Sentences of Lombard." ured on the New Testament, especially on the Romans. He was thoroughly familiar , but to them he added a profound knowledge Out of the barren deserts of scholasticism, so iter, it was his delight to lead his pupils to ers of God's Word. He was a man with a at age. And he soon gathered around him a set ng men. Thus Leo Juda, who was studying med-him influenced to study theology. He afterward gli's great helper in the Reformation. Zwingli ms before to have been somewhat undecided, hav-tivated by humanism and in love with his teach-ly decided under Wytttenbach's inspiration to study Capito and Pellican, later also Reformers, the former rg, the latter at Zurich, seem to have come in touch enbach at that time more or less. Wytttenbach was like Lefevre, though in a lesser degree, the father of s. We have already mentioned four. And to them be added Haller, the Reformer of Bern, who later at

WHO WAS THE FIR.

Bern, was influenced by Wyttenbach.
Leo Juda thus writes to the
Wyttenbach:

"From your city came forth most learned men of that age as a result of his many acquirements. Zwingli and in 1505. Under his guidance, from he was equally at home, we passed study of the Bible. His sagacity divided the events of coming years, the doctrine of indulgences and other gross for many centuries Rome had held bondage. Whatever of thorough I owe it to him and must remain his."

Pellican was there as teacher of the melite monks and he also aided the publications of the works of Augustus. He declared that at that time he gained from the Fathers the first doubts about indulgence, substantiation, confession and the like.

Wyttenbach later apologized to Zwingli at Basle a babbler of scholasticism and his time on the trifles of sophistry. On June 15, 1523, consoling him that the custom of the age and added that he had given encouragement to all ourselves from such fetters. What Wyttenbach letter, we know not, unless it was the Sentences of Lombard he naturally used method then in vogue. From the time he could hardly do otherwise. But in the New Testament he seems to have known Lombard by the truths of the Bible. He taught his students the great corruption and attacked this and also held up the Scripture. He made Zwingli get rid of

* The scholastic theologians would their students, as whether after the resurrection were possible; or whether God's almighty Son took the shape of a stone and how a stone could be turned into flesh. A fanatical Franciscan assured done as much for the Church as the apostle Paul.

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n:
f Scripture. Wytttenbach said to his

distant when the scholastic theology
the old doctrine of the Church estab-
foundation of God's Word."

doctrine was that Christ is the sole
1527 Zwingli says he had learned

t was the sole price of remission of
hat unlocks the treasury of that re-

hat he gets at the Evangelical doc-
m Lefevre or Luther. With him it
ification by faith as with them, but
lement of Christ.

second doctrine, Zwingli was led to
trine that was then very prominent,
if Christ's death is the one sufficient
need is there for such a thing as
h, and not indulgences, is the cause
ingli thus wrote in 1523:

1519, none of us had ever heard of
d published something against in-
rich I did not require much enlight-
ady been taught what a cheat and
by my master and beloved teacher,
l, who had held at Basle some time
Putation on the subject."

years before Luther, attacked the
Pheised the time was not far dis-
aside and the old doctrines of the
Fathers restored in its stead.

eat service to Zwingli at Basle.
have seen, under the influence of
ch became his teacher. He could
e, yes often the contradiction, be-
and the scholastic theology. To
uch a contradiction between them

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that they could not be harmonized with great power, his mind instead of a con-humanism, that by making them were harmonized. Wyttensbach hand, the usefulness of humanism to a scholarly examination of the other hand, the usefulness prevent it from becoming a useless True theology was the application Wyttensbach communicated to him to search the Bible in the later study of the Greek and Latin.

We thus see the tremendous influence Zwingli. It was Wyttensbach former. He planted, as Leo J. afterward came to harvest in greatest influence that came it not show its full power till ten years.

Zwingli never forgot the impression made on him, or the debt he owed back on him as the greatest teacher. In his letter to Haller, the Reformer Wyttensbach who was then with him "his dear preceptor." In most learned and holiest of me correspondence with Zwingli a letter was greatly strengthened in 1523. Wyttensbach, though he is now looked up to his pupil as taught about the Lord's Supper teacher; and still affectionately his teacher, says: "I will gladly give you the Lord's Supper) not that you need not error, you may correct me and I explains to his former teacher, Lord's Supper over against transubstantiation as he does baptismal regeneration, faith is necessary in o:

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de of the Lord's Supper over
f the Catholics.

ch, let us for a moment pause on
in 1507, a year after Zwingli left
e place, Biel, as priest. In 1515
Biel as priest. There he threw
and joined the Reformed. He
nation. For Haller, later the Re-
together and Wytttenbach taught
taught Zwingli. He thus helped
nd thus added another Reformer.
In 1522, because he opposed the
against Luther he left Bern and
e place, to become its Reformer.
ion by preaching mightily against
at sin is not a thing to be bought.
d the celibacy of the priests. He
s congregation, especially among
om, Squire Nicholas Wytttenbach,
ach was one of the first priests to
fied ecclesiastical authority; and
ngs. Many of the leading citizens
attend his services because he was
mplaints against him before the
hat time mainly Catholic. This
town of Biel against him. The
all married priests and especially
rom them their financial support.
that the marriage of priests was
He preached a month longer in
ad to leave it. He then preached
ouses of those friendly to Evan-
t crowds in the chapel. The city
the parsonage and he lost its
ore became very poor. But he
e truth and many rallied around
mpelled to leave Biel. He went
worn out by his privations and
at the age of 54. He died just
le over a year longer, until after

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the Bern Conference made formed, he would have had come Reformed and with it suffered so much. But his in vain. For a strong body the nucleus of the Protestant Biel honors his memory as it:

Returning again to Zwingli's first charge, in 1506. There seems to have slumbered for a time novelty of his work as priest parish was large, including Glarus. But when the first to wear off we find him revised given him.

First of all he opened a high school which tenbach had revealed to him through scholarship. And as he teaching at Basle for four years (university) he gathered around him men of the leading families of Zwingli's rare ability and towards became famous as Tschuburg. Due to Zwingli's rare ability and them not only education but also

2. He also shows Wyttent Glarus the study of the Greek had sought means to study it but it until 1513. He wrote thus:

"I am applying my ignorance and Latin. I do not know who of Greek unless it is God. I do not look for that. But for I do not look for that. But sacred literature."

How often do great men casting their shadows before, as of which they do not at the time

In 1523 he related at the "Ten years ago I began the study of Greek without

He might learn the teaching of Christ

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he left Glarus that he could already
Testament.

nugine study of the Bible while at
already mentioned, came from the
Wytttenbach. In 1522 he thus
ime:

I was as much devoted to worldly
e. And when seven or eight years
he study of the Bible, I was com-
of the jarring philosophy and
Scriptures and the Word of God,
on: you must leave them all alone
the Word out of the Word itself.
His light; and then the Scriptures
elligible when I read them myself
ich commentary and exposition of
that was a sign that God was lead-
I have come to such a conclusion
ding."

the Bible he had already at Glarus
the Bible and Jerome. We thus
t Glarus under the impulse given
fore.

e beginning of this chapter, that
o have an influence; and before
ice two local influences that came
are him to become a Reformer.
ne. He had gone with the Swiss
their chaplain. This helped to
the papacy. For there was an
, the worse Christian." Out of
position to the foreign mercenary
His sermon at Monza to the
ility to their pledges, made for
later burgomaster of Zurich,
Pope, instead of trying to heal
ions, tried to intensify them so
although Zwingli did not break
political reaction against foreign
ared him for his later reaction
It was the entering wedge for

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further cleavage between the pope
The second was a liturgical or
two ways:

(A) The first came to him in Milan that the mass of that Church of his Church at Glarus in some previously made the same discovery at Milan differed from his mass a intercession for the public magistrat about the matter:

"Either Ambrose, from whom changes in the Roman mass without sure, or the Roman ritual had taken place of Ambrose. In either case the liturgy and subject to change."

This disposed of the claim of liturgy was the same at all times without

(B) A second liturgical influence
erland. He says:

"It was while pastor at Glarus Mollis, north of Glarus, an Obsequies was complete. And there stood a Latin immediately after the infant had been given the sacrament of the Lord's Supper before including the chalice containing the wine. This practise was observed in the canton of Glarus, but surely it was not in Mollis, the Lord's Supper was administered."

He thus received his first Protestant Lord's Supper, that the wine as well as the bread was given to the laity.

We have thus followed the influence of Zwingli's life up to nearly the close of his life. But now a new influence begins to enter our list—the Erasmian. But before we note that there is a third person besides Zwingli, who has been mentioned as having influenced him considerably, namely, John Picus of

*That is a book for baptism, burial

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nfluence on him at Basle and later by Myconius' Biography, where he says of Basle (1502-6) "because he had not John Picus of Mirandola, was selected as a heretic." But what Zwingli refused to condemn, were, thirteen theses condemned, perhaps

cross of Christ, nor any image ought to be worshipped."

The body of Christ to be present at the consecration of the substance of the bread "is not of being bread." (Mirandola's doctrine of remanence, for which not all of the bread was changed, so that some of it remained bread. doctrine of transubstantiation.)

"This is my body," uttered at the Mass, not to be taken as an actual fact, that is, as a mere recital. (This, transubstantiation, for the Catholice of these words performed ad into the body of Christ.)

which of them he refused to confess is shown by the fact that Sigismund the Theses as most likely to have sole subject is so uncertain that it is one of the great influences in inference that can be made about shows that Zwingli was inclined

Influenced by a nephew of Picus, influenced him toward election, not understand why Calvinists are so chary of Zwingli. Perhaps news of original sin where they can get election,—all they in his sermon on Providence. Had he life, he might have been able to extremes of statement. On

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election, Providence, and some
guage like that of the younger

III. THE CRITIC

The third humanistic in Erasmus, like those of the but while theirs was a Church humanism. It also differed thoroughly Evangelical.

Erasmus was undoubtedly the humanists. His publications had all over Europe. Zwingli came in his pastorate at Glarus. In the a letter from Erasmus, couched in the great praise. When Erasmus, after to Basle in 1515, Zwingli visited him in 1516. And after his return home he wrote a letter full of fulsome praise and Erasmus wrote a reply.* The influence shown by the fact that several of them found in Zwingli's library. Of these to have been Erasmus' "Handbook". This was a popular handbook, described as first printed in 1503, but Zwingli in 1515, so that it probably came to him in association with Erasmus. This work was due to its simplicity so that it could be easily understood. It also tried to emphasize the difference between a religion of mere outward form and a religion of inward faith.

It was this work of Erasmus that exposed the Catholic doctrine of intercession and doctrinal doubt about Romanism. It made men as perishing because they would perish alone. Zwingli says (1523):

"I shall not withhold from you, Jesus, how it was that I arrived at this conclusion; we need no other Mediator than Christ."

* Both letters are given by Jackson in
78-81.

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iate between God and man. Eight or
a consolatory poem on the Lord Jesus,
ndly learned Erasmus of Rotterdam, in
utiful words, Jesus complains that men
in him, so that he might be to them a
aviour, comfort and treasure of the
well, if it is really so, why then should
creature. And although I found other
same Erasmus on St. Anna, St. Michael
calls upon the saints of whom he wrote,
this fact could not deprive me of the
st was the only treasure of our poor souls.
st examine the Bible and the writings of
out if I could learn from them concerning
the saints. To be brief, I have not found
hereupon I reflected: If that is so, why
P from any creature."*

Zwingli wrote February 20, 1519:

remember to have received such fruit from
ompass. May God grant that this noble
nay long beat for us, so that it regales us
it honey at the table of Christ."

is, Zwingli lost faith in one of the funda-
of the Romish Church, the intercession of
was the only mediator and the saints were
his idea of Erasmus was built on a previous
bach had put into his mind and which had
here, namely, that sins are forgiven, not by
ut by the ransom of Christ. It was Erasmus
the seed thought planted by Wytenbach ten
is iron sharpeneth iron," so Erasmus sharp-
's teaching. Together they made Zwingli a
true what our Savior said: "One soweth and
Erasmus' idea would not have been the
the fire had not Wytenbach laid the wood
oom of any man's life how marvelously the
fferent men are interwoven by the hand of
us wrote in a letter:

I taught. Yes it is true, why seek our help
ire. Christ is the sole treasure of our poor

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soul. Then searching for what
ing the intercession of the saint
Therefore Jesus is the Source c
Saviour and our only hope."

Erasmus thus led Zwingli to
not Biblical. Erasmus gave Zw
but he stopped there. But Zwing
carried out the logic of Erasmus'
the key, Zwingli unlocked the doo
used to be, "Erasmus laid the egg
Luther hatched it." But this was
of Luther. For Zwingli was far mo
Erasmus than was Luther. For whi
Luther was indirect, on Zwingli it wa
So that the proverb ought to be ch
the egg of the reformation and Zwingl

Such was the state of mind in wh
and went to Einsiedeln* to be preacher
beliefs were beginning to crumble. Th
ing more and more the form by which h
Then just at that psychological moment,
open condition, came in May, 1516, the
mus to him: "The Greek New Testament
stand how great a boon this was to him, i
that there was no Greek Testament in circ
the Latin, the sacred language of the I
completely supplanted it. Zwingli, with h
edge of Greek, could get at the Greek N
as its verses were scattered here and there
of Church Fathers. But now a book came t
to read the Greek Testament as a whole. I
long, with his previous predilections to liber
the difference between the Greek New T

* We might pause here to note the local int
Zwingli at Einsiedeln after leaving Glarus. The g
sion of the place and the lack of pastoral dutie
time for study. The gross superstitions of the p
produced in him a reaction against saint-worship. H
a circle of congenial spirits in Geroldseck, the adi
Abbey, Ochslin, and Zink, the papal chaplain.

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lay. So great was his devotion to it, in 1517, he copied all the Epistles of Paul in full form for his own private use, for it was a large, heavy folio work. This copy, was called a "Paulinus," and is at present at Zurich. But he did more than copy. He committed whole Epistles to memory. These were of great service to him when he got into trouble with the Catholics. For he literally knew the Word of God.

Erasmus we will pause a moment to notice on Zwingli. Zwingli got from Erasmus the first suggestion of "is" in the phrase: "This is." Erasmus emphasized his views over against the Zwingli and his Reformation to be more realistic, while Luther emphasized the importance of the sacraments. Later Zwingli visited Luther in 1522 he invited him to come to Zurich, but he came estranged from Zwingli because of differences in his reforms.

It has been influenced Zwingli, it was after all to his mind the mould in which his character was formed. The recent biographers of Zwingli treat this influence that led him toward forgetfulness that Wytenbach's influence was so powerful (Zwingli refers to it as from Erasmus in being a more advanced humanist and Wytenbach the reverse). For the two seed-thoughts that came into his mind now came to fruitage in the New Testament, namely, the supremacy of the completeness of Christ's atonement. He went farther than Erasmus. Erasmus used the world by his criticisms of the New Testament, willing to critically revise the text and came out boldly saying that the

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Bible was the rule of faith. against a religion of outward the Scripture over against the was too much of a time-server things against the Church, but her constitution or her authorit got his inspiration from Wytten mus. He emphasized the Bible atonement as the only source of gested the doubt to Zwingli about but he never went farther, as did is our only intercessor and we do

It is very interesting to note Wyttenbach come to harvest at E

The first was the supremacy how this was growing in him as it thus speaks of himself at Einsede

"I began to preach the gospel before any one in my locality had s For I never left the pulpit with gospel in the mass service of the by means of Scripture."

He thus began preaching on pericopes or Scripture lessons:

"Study the Scriptures," he said understand them, study Jerome. H come, with God's help, when Jeron esteemed by Christians, but only th

Before he left Einsedeln he w expected to preach on the Gospel of as he later did at Zurich.

The second seed-thought of Wyt vest at Einsedeln was his emphasis of Christ. Erasmus only went so far in love, but he never taught his completec in his "History of the Reformation" p

"He preached the Gospel with a and taught especially that Christ w be prayed to and worshipped and n

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was by many unheard because un-
> were pious, it was acceptable. It
>od that he was permitted to preach
hing was so superstitious."

ached Christ and his **forgiveness** at
olemically as positively; that is, he
Christ in its fullness, so that Mary
adowed and forgotten. He did not
the positive Gospel. But even this
endous moral courage on the part
er says, there was not a **more** super-
eln. Yet there in that **Abbey**, over
tradition, was the sign: "Here sins
n Mary," he preached that sins are
in that abbey, whose greatest prize
k Virgin said to have fallen from
day by hundreds as an **idol**, he held
righteousness, over against the black
lmired Luther's bravery at Witten-
ias forgotten to notice that here at
bravery and heroism as Zwingli
in the cradle of the old. No one
y in that abbey. As a result, pil-
abbey to find **forgiveness** of sin
ed to **forgiveness** by faith in Jesus

e, we have two testimonies. One
he wrote to Zwingli, November 5,
rmon on Pentecost (1518) at Ein-
shed on the story of the paralytic

by a discourse of yours, so elegant,
t, incisive and Evangelical, wholly
of the old theologians, a discourse
ralytic in Luke 5 at the Church of
lein, a year and a half ago, at the
scourse, I say, so inflamed me that
ep affection for Zwingli, to look up

umanist, Beatus Rhenanus of Basle,
18:

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"I know well that you and your pure doctrine of Christ, not accord with scholastics, but as shown in its teaching by Augustine, an Ambrose, a Cyprian and others bring forward their babbling pope, of indulgences, of purgatory, of vows (of monkhood) or of hellish bring forth in your sermons the lead doctrine of Christ as if it were painted was sent by God to earth to teach us and to bring it about that the world with its dominion and power is despised and land is sought with a whole heart. doctrine which stands out more prominently than all others and which belongs to men."

As a result of Zwingli's emphasis on the doctrine of Christ, two other correlated doctrines

The first was his opposition to indulgences. He first came into the neighborhood of Einsiedeln probably in the summer of 1518. Zwingli denounces Samson's conduct successfully that Samson went away. Late at Zurich early in 1519 and by it started ultimately drove Samson and the indulgences from Zurich. Zwingli says later (1523) that he had given up his opposition to indulgences from Luther.

"A subject in which I did not require (by Luther) because I had been already and delusion indulgences were by my faithful teacher, Dr. Thomas Wytenbach."

A letter has come down to us from Zwingli written by Zwingli from Basle, December 1523, which says: "I have laughed a great deal at the indulgences whom you depicted so vividly in your picture."

This remark has been exaggerated by biographers as if it showed that Zwingli did not take seriously the matter of indulgences. A son says: "He had no appreciation of the conduct of the pope in selling them." All very favorable to Zwingli have used it to just joke about them. But we ask of them it merely as a joke and did not realize that

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it that Samson was driven away from Einsiedeln, the
y place in all Switzerland where he would have been
find support? Mere jokes where they give is not sufficient re-
sults. The cause they goes to Einsiedeln today and sees its
gross superstitions, will realize how hard it must have been
to have produced such a result. Yet Zwingli did it and he
could not have done it by mere frivolity. No, he himself en-
dorses Wytttenbach's remarks that indulgences were a fraud
and cheat and that makes them more than a joke.

Again this letter of Hedio's is in itself an answer to their
inference. He says:

"For it does not escape me that you and those like you
bring forth to the people the pure philosophy of Christ.
You, in preaching to your congregation, show the whole doctrine
of Christ, briefly displayed as in a picture: how Christ was sent
down to earth by God to teach us the will of the Father sent
show us that this world, i.e., riches, are to be condemned so that pleasure
and all that kind of thing, are to be sought with the whole heart, to teach
heavenly country can be declared that poverty and disadvantages and
affections, concerning country, to take away from us, to teach
her possessions, to declare that parents, relatives, health foolish
is life are not real evils."

All this does intimate the inference that has been
awn from it that Zwingli was merely joking about inde-
nences. But it shaws that there was something deeper than
es in his preach- seen how Zwingli's fundamental doctrin
We have thus
the Scriptures
aligences. There
em that was also
ends. It was the
e papacy rested
a letter from St
"Before Luthe
ne to an agree
e he lived at Einsiedeln
par, state secre
"Eight years
en proved to a
so

On the atonement led to the denial of
was also a second doctrine founded on
discussed at Einsiedeln by Zwingli and
a poor foundation. Capito, in
became prominent Zwingli and
edeln." Zwingli too in a letter (1517) at Einsiedeln and then at
ary of Uri, says: "The Lord Cardinal of Sion, that the

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papacy rested on a false foundation to Scripture. The noble head of the abbey), Master Fr Sander, all three yet living, are mentioned cardinal has frequently this way, 'If God restores me a time in disgrace with the pope) pride and falsehood of the corrected."

Zwingli said to Pucci, the p:

"I will openly declare and believe dissension arose in the Church, I witnessed to mighty cardinals, errors in doctrine, which are able to sell them to remove abuses of in a more dreadful revolution."

Bullinger also says that at Hugo, bishop of Constance, to the pure Word of God and to remove abominations. He says that Zwingli made Schinner, the papal legate in Switzerland, to throw discredit on these accusations. Reformation so early. But in doing so he did not consider Bullinger's testimony. Our reply to this testimony as a historian can not confess that we would prefer it to Bullinger, a contemporary, to the Church historians of nearly four centuries. Hagenbach used to answer such a testimony of Bullinger sufficient." So many of Bullinger's statements have taken place or why did the September 1518, of his acolyte chaplains corroborates Bullinger's statements; par. For what Zwingli said was entirely as Rome began taking measures to do so by fulminating a bull again Luther. It did not dare do that, badly the Swiss soldiers in his army crush Luther by force, he tried to Antonio Pucci used his influence to announce to Zwingli, 1518,

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earning, had made him an acolyte from some ecclesiastical censures. It seems later to have been followed such higher positions in the Romish witness to this in his Exposition of the *Antichrist* on January, 1523:

"I had previously to 1520 been preaching at Zurich, on which account I received threats and legates with whom the city had earnest counsels with threats and gifts and benefices."

Told Zwingli what the pope had offered he said: "Everything except the papal

that Zwingli began his Reformation open break occurred there between him and the church. And there for that matter occur with him nailed up the theses in 1517. But he Protestant doctrines of the substance of the full atonement of Christ. He in his letter to Juda (December 17, 1520) to his successor at Einsiedeln. "The good and willing hears Christ preached that at this great pilgrimage place Zwingli says not a word about her. But

He says that if Zwingli had been preaching at Einsiedeln, he never could have been elected to the leadership of the Catholic party. It does not impress us deeply. For there are other considerations. First of all it is to be noted that he has not yet been drawn at that time between the humanists like Zwingli. Second and thirdly he has higher Church officials above Canon of Constance, were favorable to humanism. strong influence of humanism that came into the Diocese. And thirdly Stahelin seems to say that Hoffman declared in 1528-9, he says that Hoffman declared of preaching he had often attacked the Diocese. If Hoffman did this, it is not to be due to the election of Zwingli even if the Evangelical Gospel at Einsiedeln.

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We can not therefore agree with of Zwingli that at Einsiedeln Zwingli w This theory is based mainly on a theor to him. He claimed that Zwingli's notes in tl manship in 1519 and that relying on his 1 notes were only humanistic and did not 1 trines of grace. And Stahelin has follow mation as late as 1520 and 1521, and s Lutherans as Tschackert place it as late as ans have seized on these admissions by Us discredit Zwingli so as to help Luther. always somewhat looked down on Zwingli a German and only a Swiss. Thus the case been recently prejudiced by German Churc their Lutheran bias has aided this.

The trouble with the opponents of Zwi ever it is asserted that Zwingli said he beg tion independently of Luther said he beg declare that he said this through jealousy o Jackson echoes this. But let us look at this a moment. Zwingli shows his entire lack Luther:

1. By the fact that when Luther's writings, he highly commended that they be read. Thus Stumpf at Basle, July 2, 1519: "Have the copies, on the Lord's Prayer distributed everywhere, both and city among the unlearned people as well as priests." Does that look like jealousy? Other qu the same nature could be given.* Zwingli also had cation of the pope's bann against Luther stayed months at Zurich. Does that look like jealousy? Ca say what he believes to be the truth, as Zwingli did being charged with being jealous?

2. The same kind of argument Luther that, because he spoke against Zwingli might be used

* See Jackson, "Huldreich Zwingli,"

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of him, which is not true. Then neither is this charge
at Zwingli true. Zwingli did later, it is true, have a
controversy with Luther on the Lord's Supper, but there was
jealousy on either side in it. It was with each a question
principle.

3. The basis of their argument against Zwingli is the
theory that Zwingli was only a humanist at Einsiedeln. As
to this, we would call attention to several facts in Zwingli's
life which can not be explained by that theory.

(A) How does it come that Zwingli was preaching the
ransom of Christ at Einsiedeln? No humanist ever did that.
Humanists emphasized the Bible, though not in the full Prot-
estant sense as the supreme guide over against the Romish
Church as the supreme authority. But the doctrine of Christ's
finished work, no humanist had ever gotten up to. Erasmus
had emphasized Christ and made Christianity consist of love.
But he never got up to Christ's complete atonement as the
only ransom, or to Christ's sacrifice as all-sufficient over against
the intercession of saints and angels as Zwingli did. This was
an entirely new doctrine, that "Christ died once for all" (He-
brews 10:10.) Now since Zwingli preached this doctrine, as
Bullinger says at Einsiedeln, he was more than a humanist—
he was a Protestant.

2. How does it come about, if he were only a humanist,
that Zwingli when he first came to Zurich began preaching on
the Gospel at Matthew, verse by verse? No humanist would
ever have undertaken so radical a change as to set aside the
time-honored pericopes or Scripture-lessons that the Catholic
Church had used for hundreds of years.
had become a hard and fast service of form. To deviate from
it in the slightest degree was regarded as heresy. We have
seen this in the case of Lefevre when he departed from the
Romish calendar by saying there were
of one. What a storm it brought about
heard of a humanist doing what Zwingli did in introducing
such an innovation into the mass service at Zurich. The theory
that Zwingli was only a humanist fails to account for this
great change at Zurich at the very beginning of his ministry
that is, when he was at Einsiedeln. Indeed while yet at

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Zurich whether he would be willing to preach the God in Zurich." He replied, "Yes, for if the grace is proclaimed and received in so renowned a place, of Switzerland will soon follow the example." The usual testimony of his contemporaries was that he began the reformation at Einsedeln.

But the greatest argument is the testimony of Zwingli himself. He certainly knew when he began it. He is the one most of all ought to know about it. He universally placed Einsedeln and not at Zurich. Three times he said he began at Einsedeln.* Jackson is right when he says that Zwingli said his arrival at Evangelicalism while he was at Einsedeln.† Certainly Zwingli knew better than German Lutheran historians or theorists like Usteri who lived nearly four hundred years later.

The truth is that those who make Zwingli only a humanist forget to note a peculiarity in his conversion. They say he first a humanist and then a Protestant. But they forget one peculiarity in his conversion to which we have called attention, namely, that there were different kinds of humanists. Their theory might be true, if Zwingli had come only from Erasmus' influence to Protestantism. But they forget that he first came under the strong Biblical, Evangelical influence of Wytttenbach before he had come under mere critical humanism under Erasmus. It was Wytttenbach's influence that made him a Reformer though Erasmus woke that up in him. But as we have seen, he quickly went beyond Erasmus, because he had Wytttenbach before as his teacher. The Biblical humanist in his case came before the critical humanist. And this made him a Reformer earlier as at Einsedeln than mere Biblical humanism would have done.

So then when was Zwingli converted and when did he hear the Gospel? He mentions two dates, 1516 and 1517. Archeteles (1522)‡ he says:

Zwingli's Works, Schuler and Schulthess edition I 253, III 117.
We shall in a moment give these references.
1520.
We are surprised that Jackson contradicts himself by placing
English Translation, Vol. I, 198, Preface.

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"But now for about six years best of my ability with the talents when the Lord came and demanded fully bring forth forward with talent."

In his work against Luther

"I thank my knowledge of the Gospel the study of John and A diligent reading of Paul for my contents of the Gospel. This of ago with my own hands, while yet to domineer since eight years (15

2. Zwingli in his letter to speaks of the work of Evangelical years ago" (1516).* There is all which we shall give in a moment.

The references that place it in

i. Zwingli in his letter to C

"I have often shown with Zion eight years ago (1517) at that the whole papacy had a poor ways by the power of the Gospel

He must have felt that that breach, for he said in 1520:^f

"I had for three years preached the gospel with earnestness, — on the previous day receive the pension of fifty marks before God and all the world upon the pope."

This is proved by the Bullinger. Myconius says (Enn)

"An opportunity was offered for the time being seemed a course of men from almost all able opportunity of the place, attracted

186. * Schüssler and Schulthess Editi

+ Schüssler and Schulthess Editi

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that humble submission to the will of God
that there must be added thereto the glad
Not until the turning of the year 1516-7
d his pastoral doubts about the certainty a
s monkish aversion to the thought that a
confidently count on the mercy of God a
n fringe on humility.* He had by this time
eformatory criticism of conditions of the
thing he lacked, the clear recognition that a
n not only dared be sure of his salvation,
certain of it."

reserved Smith, the author of "Luther's
ays:

tures (1513-5) he no longer lays the whole
as he apparently did in his first monastic
other hand he has not yet arrived at the
ne).

er thus vacillated between justification by
n by works, he had settled one point. He
scholastic theology formulated by Aquinas
istotle and had taken up Biblical Theology.
of 1517 he had succeeded in getting Bibli-
he university at Wittenberg.

thunder-clap in his theses against indul-
sity. For this brave act Luther deserves
ticle he was thus gradually coming toward
tion by faith, he does not reveal it in
granted by Lutheran writers. Thus the
the excellent edition of Luther's Works,
in English, say so in their introduction
the Ninety-five Theses. They say:

destined to become the watchword of
not occur in them, the validity to for-
is reserved cases, is admitted within
simply: "What is virtue?"†

Proof of this than Luther himself gives
dition of his Works in 1545, when he

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"When I took up this matter again so full and drunken, yea so besotted in part of my great zeal, I would gladly have been help that murder should be done on all obedient and subject to the pope, even in

And in 1520 Luther wrote: "Some time I wrote a little book on indulgences which having published, for at that time I should not altogether be rejected, was proved by the common consent of men lished a year after he nailed up the indulgences when he nailed up

For Protestant readers of these theses not to read into the theses their Protest them as a Catholic would or as one like Luther would. We must disabuse Protestant standpoint and view them from point from which Luther came. Thus first of these theses: "Our Lord said M he said "Do penance." Now and M translated "do penance" by "repentance" idea of repentance is not at all the idea idea of doing penance. And this "doing penance" in accord with the Catholic doctrine for indulgences were based on that Koestlin, "up to 1517 saw no other should confess to the priest, secure cession of the saints, which he justified his sermons he invoked the Virgin."

What Luther was attacking in

1. The abuses of the indulgence scandals of the traffic. This was especially the money abuses th; dination. The sale of indulgence farmed out by the pope to the Fu Augsburg, and to the Archbishopalty given to them for the sales. ality given to them for the sales. trusts had gotten hold of the bus

*English Translation of Luther

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ls. specially attacked were papal abuses,* those indulgences given by the priests in their hands of the German priests and princes son why some of them opposed the sale of pport from the German princes. Thus Duke was greatly pleased at Luther's checking the

the standpoint of Protestantism, the opposite faith and not the papal pardons, which upon which the whole system of indulgences is what Luther championed had here in the theses. But not a word about faith does he speaks against the contrary he says anathema and against the truth of 'apostolic par hing that Luther accused.' ver of indulgences extended to in indulgences papal power, indulgences extended into purgatory. Therefore indulgences were only temporal and did not the pope's indulgences could not tzel had declared that is the gross soul ubled soul chen in the casket rings from purgatory springs." he thus protested against the indulgences affect these reveal that he was a firm believer But how according to our Protestant believer id to justification by faith and yet believe in is to do with entirely on justification by works; to do with the arrears in works that the soul

5, 6, 33, 34, 38, 45, 48, 49, 75, 76 show this.
11, 16, 17, 22, 25, 29, 35, 82, 84.

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All honor to Luther for his coura
theses, but it is evident that he was ,
and had not clearly come out to justific
can believe what he says in his other
that time he was oscillating between
and justification by faith; but had not c
to faith to boldly attack indulgences, wl
denial of justification by works.

It is an interesting psychological
Luther could thus endorse the papal
founded on justification by works a
toward justification by faith. How I
gether at the same time seems con
estant. But it was not so to the Cath
often a religion of contradictions. Fc
be made of Luther's case, that he wa
great Church Father and model, Au
to two contradictory views of reli
and Evangelicalism,—that is, he held
tismal regeneration and on the othe
to the former, man's act (the othe
according to the latter, God's priest's
of his own good pleasure. Such cc
in Catholicism. This is shown by
Trent in the sixteenth century by
justification by works and justificat
the question and held to both. A
that be done. Very easily said the
That council taught justification by
grace) at baptism, and by works a
Church has ever been a Church of
ing these things we can the more
frame of mind at that time.

Such was Luther when he nail
of transition. No, it was not until
to clearer views on justification /
1518 he went to Heidelberg to
Augustinian Order. While there
subject of free-will. From this it

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ed justification by faith. For ebated there was the foundation of slavery oestlin says (Theology of Luther I, 285) s views of justification most fully in his eefold Righteousness' and 'Of the Two Those pamphlets appeared after the Alberg, which was held in the spring of before place Luther's full declaration of somewhere in the summer of 1518.

we are now ready to answer the question, Luther or Zwingli. According to our Reformer he became such when he had begun preaching Evangelical doctrines. If we have Zwingli preaching his Protestant finished work as Mediator in 1517, probably just about the time when Luther nailed them to the cross. But that was about six months earlier came out clearly and decidedly on justice in the summer of 1518. An additional proof is given by Hedio, who said that he in an Evangelical sermon on the text, "But the power to forgive sin." This sermon was preached at Pentecost, 1518, which was before Luther's sermon on justification by faith to which we before conclude that according to our first Reformer, Zwingli was before Luther, because he taught atonement before Luther did. Justification by faith is more fully than Luther, for the basis of justification by faith. There is deeper than Luther; even to the root of the matter, whereas Luther emphasized the result of both, thank God, came to the great first Protestant faith.

CHA

HARMONY OF THE LUTHERA

We have thus far foll
time of the conversion of I
to continue the study of th
work at Wittenberg and at Z
the four Gospels have great
life of our Lord, why not h
enable us to understand it be
goes, no such harmony has e
therefore place the events at ;
side as they take place. In thi
the subject. And we will be b
of the Reformation step by ste

We will begin with the yea
tually covered the ground up to
is a good year to begin with; i
Zwingli began his work at Zuric
great public defenses by his ,
Leipsic, 1519.

Luther had, as we have see
justification by faith as revealed
now begins to advance to anot
the Church and the papacy. In
the pope, he declared, that he
the pope as the voice of God. F
attacking him, that he was led
badly informed to a pope to be b
ber 28, 1518, he appealed from
was not however considered here
six months before, the university
represented the liberal or Gallican
at the Council of Constance, appeal
to a council. At the beginning of

HARMONY OF TI

that more than 2,000 citizens
lution, sympathized with him.
Moses who would lead the pe

Another significant event
Soon after he came to Zurich
dulgences. But so strongly c
left not only Zurich but also
broke out in the autumn he
was reported dead. But he
illness deepened his piety and
before him as Reformer. He
Zwingli's statements in his lett
reveal his progress in reform
wrote to Beatus Rhenanus: 'immensely so full is it of slur
loving cardinals.' On March
pained me that the man-please
is entertaining designs against
will not save Judah when he tr
but only when trusting in hi
Beatus he speaks of "the old
And on June 7 he speaks again
on December 31 he writes sligh

Zwingli had by this time
on three points. Like Luther
Scripture. He also had come
of Christ just as Luther had
had not openly attacked the pope,
by the pope as had been Luther,
Luther begun to doubt the papal
had come out against saint and sinner
several years longer.

The year 1520 was a great
eran Reformation; for in it
Reformation treatises,—those on
"The Luther of 1520," says Luth
trun Boe

* See my "Hymns of the Reform

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different person from the Luther of 1517). His aims were grander, his clearer and his self-confidence vastly over issuing his two great appeals he, in a work by an Italian, Valla, which founded, was a fiction and a fraud. In the "Donation of Constantine," on al of the power of the papacy. In er advanced to several new positions indulgences and then the papacy. Now and the sacraments and other errors

is "Appeal to the German Nobility." In it he says that the Romanists es with three walls. The first was itual to be above the temporal; and ers have no control over the clergy. pope alone could expound Scriptures, t be used against them. The third d call a council. Luther called for a e which threw down the walls of ese walls. Over against the first, cal doctrine of the priesthood of all social privileges of the Catholic priest cond, he claimed that the Bible gave it of private judgment. After his ro walls, the third was easily over he early councils of the church were emperors; and he held that coun by the pope. In this work he also e clergy and demanded the diminu ead. He appealed to the German h hierarchy would not attempt to is, they should do so, which right doctrine of the priesthood of all cical and social manifesto (having to the German nobles to go for

shortly followed by another, "The lished in October. In this he at-

HARMONY OF TH

tacked the sacramental system mentioned several captivities. of the cup from the laity at t was transubstantiation; the thir fice. He reduced the number among the Catholics to three, b penance, though he grants that ment. He held that the sacra giveness and that they were eff "Address to the German Not external abuses in the state; in he treated of the internal errors

This epochal year was bro by a most heroic act,—his burn cember 11. He defended this taught the pope's absolute author and the Christian conscience. breach with the papacy, for he also the canon law, in which we papal system was supposed to re

But while Luther went so fa he was still Catholic in many of saying the canonical prayers, w priest for each day. For he says, for a week and so had to make up all together for a whole day, so th "drink." It seems strange that aft fication by faith, he should still con prayers, as they were based on jus he still relying on good works to s goes to the trouble to make up for t

Turning from the Lutheran to th we find that the year 1520 was a compa red with Luther's. And yet one Reformation was steadily progress Early in the year, Zwingli made an a tem of the Catholic Church. This w revenues of the cathedral. He says t dral declared that the tithes were of a gli controverted publicly. The provos

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to the laity to use against the clergy. way that Zwingli's preaching was taken as the action of the city council, that he preached, all priests and curates where preach the Holy Gospels and Apostles, and they should only teach and establish by the Word of God. commandments of men, they should as the first action of a secular author or Zurich, favorable to the Reformation two points, it will be noticed as well as Luther's Reformation, in cultus and to the Reformation.

giant event of the year at Zurich was his papal pension. At the beginning called attention to the different defined a Reformer. We later saw how he became Reformers; according to the when they began giving expression to Zwingli in 1517 and Luther in 1518; my faith and Zwingli, to the completed authorship of Christ. We saw how action of a Reformer Zwingli was first.

In the second definition there given of a Reformer he was one who renounced publicly Zwingli did so in 1520 as he renounced his papal pension given from the pope. This was a pension given him in 1512-1513 of 50 gulden used to buy books and it was greatly

In 1517 he declined it, but they kept it says:

d to receive the pension, which they wanted to make it 100 gulden, but . But they would not stop it until in writing. (I confess here my sin world that before 1516 I hung mightily deraid it becoming for me to receive easury.) But when the Roman represent to preach against the pope, I told ear words that they had better not

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e into great confusion at Wit-
e leader there. Now Carlstadt
by the Lutheran Church his-
ter who is their idol. His case
im by them. But Carlstadt,
we all have) and his eccentrici-
e Reformed.

lstadt, or Carlstadt, as he has
professor at the Wittenberg uni-
was a man of considerable abil-
monk once called Luther "the
and Carlstadt the "lesser light"
Luther's change from the scho-
but later he had followed him
became the first defender of
d on to the Leipsic Disputation

troversy with Luther, in which
formed position on the inspira-
e. Luther in his "Resolutions"
w estimate of the Epistle of
im that James favored works
ok exception to this remark of
t Luther in doing so, held to
ive theory of the canonicity of
the canonicity of the different
y were in agreement with what
of Christianity. Carlstadt de-
canonicity of a book depended
and not on the whim of the
her's, if carried out to its ex-
for the baldest rationalism and
he subjective the guide. Carl-
ie later Reformed view, espe-
d the subjective authority of
e objective. Calvin held to a
of the Holy Spirit." But this
t held, not that we authenticated
ticated themselves to us,—were

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e next year as we shall see. At the end
nisters there took an action that was the
ration of independence against the bishop
he ministers of the canton declared that
their dues to the bishop. And the council
d it so long as the bishop did not tax the
so the year closed with a great controversy
threatened one at Zurich.

1522.

opened at Wittenberg with storm. The
e creating friction. On St. Stephen's day,
riage ceremony for one of the ministers
himself, Melancthon being present. On
d the adoption by the city of Wittenberg

This was the first secular action taken
o years later than at Zurich, as we have
Order cast pictures out of the Churches

Carlstadt had denounced pictures, de-
ere forbidden by the second command-
ace was in the fire and not in the Church.
led to have the images removed from
But before that was done, some of the
Church, tore them out, hewed them to
1. On February 1 there was another riot
rbidden to preach. Luther had disap-
lemand that nuns and monks leave their
1 supported the change of the mass to
Supper. He even approved of Carl-
by the end of February he wrote a
ople of Wittenberg in which he found
sion—that they forced the new faith on
the old. At the same time he con-
on his remarkable collection of relics
him he would be back at Wittenberg
This greatly alarmed the Elector, for
er left his secret asylum at the Wart-
d seize him or would punish him (the
a heretic. But Luther came neverthe-
Wittenberg and preached March 9-16,

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age in the words of institution of the Lord's contrary to the Reformed custom.

All this for two reasons.

He said that cultus was secondary to doctrine placed less stress on it. He said that such marriage of priests, cloister life, private conages in Churches might be tolerated. Only confession were to be abolished.

He was opposed to an enforced religion on any faith and its rites were not to be forced on must be accepted voluntarily. All must be freely way. Paul, he said, preached at Athens

and though he never touched any of them. We would show all honor to Luther for his own in many ways, we are the more surprised at such weakness here. The Reformed might in changing Catholic rites before the times were change. But we do not know of a single Reformer did what Luther did here, restore a Romish had been given up, especially the Lord's Supper. I would never have done this. They would it because they believed that cultus or the mode is as important as doctrine; while to Luther were adiaphora or indifferent. The Reformed

done it because such things were matters of hem. They were not so to the Lutherans. The formed stuck closer to the Bible than Luther, have in the worship only what was in the Bible. after Luther's return, quietly submitted to hip. But the next year he went to Orlamunde and became pastor there. There he introduced changes in the worship just as he had done and in so doing made the service Reformed heran. All pictures, crucifixes, images and with vestments and robes were cast out, as of the Latin language. But Carlstadt was led to leave Saxony and became a wanderer after he had given up his association with made a Reformed professor of theology in

E REFORMED RE~~O~~RF MATION

ad finished his address, he, with the rest of his
l to leave before Zwingli began speaking. But
ve of fair-play led the council to compel them
hear Zwingli. The council then reaffirmed its
tion in favor of fasting. But it put on record
infavorable to the Catholics,—that the divine law
than the pope's. The bishop was dissatisfied with
sent letters to Zurich urging that heresy might be

the summer of 1522 Zwingli had been mainly at-
omish doctrines, now he began attacking the Church
ns. He attacked the many saints' days and Catholic
On June 19 he attacked Corpus Christi. He also
the monks and the mass and declared that the pope
y a temporal prince and not of divine appointment.
en another step was taken favorable to Protestantism.
me it was the celibacy of the clergy that was attacked.
y two petitions were sent, one to the bishop of Con-
, the other to the Swiss diet, asking that the clergy be
tted to marry. The one to the bishop was signed by
gli and ten other priests.

While these petitions against celibacy were being sent,
her event occurred at Zurich that created an excitement.
prominent friar of the Franciscan Order arrived there,
nbert of Avignon. He had been influenced somewhat by
ther's writings, but was not yet in the clear. He preached
r sermons in the Fraumünster Church, Zurich, in which
defended the worship of Mary and the saints. Zwingli,
was present, arose and called out: "Brother, you are in
or." This led to an arrangement for a disputation between
nbert and Zwingli. It lasted four hours. Zwingli so
ised him out of the Bible that at last Lambert declared
self discomfited and said he would ever after pray to God
e and lay aside all mediators and rosaries. We thus see
Zwingli had broken on saint-worship with the Catholics
before Luther.

In August Zwingli published his reply to the charges made
s bishop against him in the spring. He named it "Arche-
" which means "the first and the last," hoping that as this
his first attack on the bishop, it might be his last. It

HARMONY OF THE REFORM

tought the independence of the Christian family. It revealed how thoroughly Protestantism came. It upheld the supremacy of the Bible of sins through the confession of the Atonement of Christ. against the confessional, pictures of the Biblical music, vocal and instrumental, in the Church. criticized Luther for approving of the saints. On these points ahead of Luther.

In September, Zwingli preached at the of the Angelic Dedication at Einsiedeln. twofold one, the supremacy of the Bible as the Mediator instead of Mary. Thus the Zurich was moving fast and gathering force. A crisis came in November. Zwingli decided he could no longer perform the duties that they had become so opposed to him. But the difficult situation. It allowed him to resign as to keep him, it created for him a new office, minister by a secular power. It was in reality of independence very significant. The bishop to sanction it. Just at the close up also a controversy about pictures and we will refer in connection with 1523.

1523.

At Wittenberg very little of importance seemed to be a calm after the storm of under Carlstadt. And there was also Peasants' War which broke out the next year with Melancthon and others, was 1534, being preceded by the Reformation of the Old Testament. This was Zurich in 1530. In this year he came worship by approving of the position of the If we turn to Zurich we find that it than quiet. This was the great year of

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In 1529 a great Conference was held in the city. Luther had done in 1517 at Wittenberg, now. In them he attacked the whole range of es, purgatory, the papacy, mass, intercession of clergy, etc. Faber, the vicar general of the present. He declared that such matters should be such a conference called by the secular power, council. Zwingli answered that the Bible was h. Faber was pressed by Zwingli to produce Scripture for his doctrine, but he failed to do council took action that Zwingli should continue Gospel as long and as often as he wanted, and s and ministers should preach nothing but what ed out of the Bible. It also forbade that they ach other heretics. This was then a great vic- Reformed, for it closed the mouths of their ene- their calling them heretics and also opened their each the Gospel everywhere.

By this time had become alarmed at the protestant movement in Switzerland. He sent his rich with a friendly letter to Zwingli (January 23) back to the Catholic Church. Myconius says that ged Zink, the papal chaplain at Einsiedeln and a friend of Zwingli's, to try to win the latter back to the pope offered to Zwingli. Zink replied: "Every- thing in the papal chair." That meant that Rome would be willing to have given Zwingli anything, even made illing to have given Zwingli anything, even made mal in order to silence him. But he refused all

ust 10 occurred the first baptism in German tin in the cathedral. On September 2 Zwingli to make changes in the mass. He published his Mass.* In it he enunciated his doctrine of the that it is a memorial feast where the thought ence stirs us to greater service. He also pro- institute for the Latin prayers of the service.

f the mass occur. was that part of the mass in which the

HARMONY OF THE

Then another controversy, Leo Juda, the new pastor of, preached on September 1 as Zwingli had already been pre-cathedral, saying, that the images were idols and should be removed. It happened that a pamphlet, "The Judgment of God," was published by Claus Hottinger, a pious great crucifix at Stadelhofen, For this Hottinger and his friends were zealous. As a result of this conference, that another Conference should be held, that the subject of the dispute should be the mass. On the first day the side of the mass had no defenders. The council decided to move wherever it could be without wounding tender consciences.

Finally came the last act of
tant one. Zwingli had on Octob
the charge that he retained the
he liked them. This he denied.
Engelhard, the three pastors at
stating that they were ready to
according to the Protestant fa:
Bible readings instead of the ma
poned this revision of the worst
to complete his Reformation at
of 1523, though his wishes were
a year later. And yet this was
stored the Catholic rites at Witten
Reformed were leading the Lut^{er}
in the civil action favoring Pr
Reformation permanent.

During the year 1524, very 1
berg. For they were kept busy

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the next year. This insurrection Luther that the Carlstadt movement nservative. Against the Peasants he ast the Heavenly Prophets." How- was taken. The German was intro- Wittenberg and the mass was given there though it remained in the city

vely little was being done at Witten- forward with the Reformation. On party, led by Canon Hoffman, made op the Reformation. Hoffman ap- l and was asked if he and his friends f the council and preach according to and so was compelled to leave the tower of the Catholic party. Now ; Protestant. The saints' days were e council permanently abolished the to Einsiedeln. The relics were taken e ringing of Church-bells except for dden. Payment for the confessional lead, the blessing of the communion s and extreme unction were all set t all pictures, images, statues and ietly taken out of the Churches by statue of Charlemagne in the tower litted to remain, for they very highly had given the ground for the cathe- r the difficulty by saying that Charle- which was probably true. This ex- he city was followed by the churches On December 3 the monasteries and at Zurich. So that by the close of i of the old worship but the mass. abolished the year before if Zwingli heir own way.

tling announcement of the year was of Zwingli's marriage on April 2. but had kept the matter secret for night cripple his influence. Only a

HARMONY OF THE

few friends as Myconius knew especially Lutherans, to say that I marriage" with her in 1522. No name to call it, but it raises more Such a concubinage as had been all can not be harmonized with sever conius speaks of Zwingli's wife as 1522. Again how could Myconius of his letters his "Spouse in Chri concubine. Again 1522 was the year were cleaned out of Zurich at Zv could that have been done if he w binage. In a word, if Zwingli we he would have been utterly unable his reforms, especially as he had so right around him to watch every laps marriages might have been possible Catholicism, but not with the awakened estant Reformation. "If he erred," say of Zwingli," "the error was one of juc fringement of moral law. With our ir the problems and conditions involved, very charitable in forming an opinion. conscientious motives with an eye to the dom of God." Christoffel, in his "Life of tition to the fact that notwithstanding his lating the most absurd stories to vilify I was not utilized by them as a subject fo says Christoffel, "I not only find no cens the same wise and temperate regard for t ment of his congregation."

1525.

During this year, the Reformation almost at a standstill because of the Peas Zurich the year was marked by the compl mation. Zwingli and his party appeared be cil on April 11 (Tuesday of Passion week) abolition of the mass and the restoration of according to the New Testament. The to take place on Thursday of Passion wee

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ice. Instead of the altar was a plain paten or chalice were wooden plates elements, the wine as well as the bread, e. They received them seated instead tholic Church. There was no singing, he responsive reading of the Creed and ter, the men and the women. All the instead of Latin. This completed the intism. It was introduced, not in one g, but in all the city churches and in canton. This was not done in Witten-

the reformation, Zwingli was before n 1517 and 1520. For Luther did not s until the next year, 1526. And when changes in the worship, they are much er's. For the Lutheran service at that s of Romanism. It then retained the Benedictus, adoration of the host and lles, altars and fast days. Zwingli's was ant.

have passed along, that on some points was earlier, on some, the other. The at first created greater sensation as it untry as Germany. Had it been per way it would have antedated the Re on, caused by the Carlstadt episode and cked the progress of Lutheranism for a still until 1526-7. Meanwhile the Re one right on and were earlier in their especially in worship and government. tions we have given of a Reformer, r. We there fore answer the question, mer, Luther or Zwingli, by having thus ese definitions of a Reformer, Zwingli ng a Reformer meant conversion and in Zwingli was earlier than Luther in g with the pope, Zwingli was earlier in ng the services and introducing Prot d country, Zwingli was earlier in 1525.

CHAP^T

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

The theology of Zwingli is
one of writers as Baur, Zeller and
there is one fundamental fault
selves orthodox; and that has
and Zeller were Hegelians of the
conception of what was ortho-
spurned. Some of Zwingli's bi-
have made the same mistake. F
Zwingli approached the Protestant
point of what is now called the
that is kept in mind (and neither
had any true appreciation of it)
not be understood as we shall see
with these writers is that, in giving
they dwell upon them as given in
in his earlier. The gradual growth
historical development, has not been
will find by examining Zwingli's
give a quite different perspective to
mate of him.

The first statement that we have
Romanism is during his first pastoral
declared that he did not find the "treasure
of the saints in the Bible. "Christ
treasure of our poor souls. Why
creature?"* The reason why he
we have already adverted to in
got the suggestion as we saw there
of the Christian Soldier."† This

* Egl "Schweizerische Reformatio-

† See pages 47-48.

‡ For extracts from that book,

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ocation of the saints. But in sick at one of the fundamental r the whole Catholic system is ors or intercessors between God ants at the top and the bishops This system was an inheritance aeons in the fourth century.

to deny the invocation of the bed on the significant text, "The forgive sins." Bullinger in his en, "that Zwingli preached the Einsiedeln and especially taught or and that men should not pray gin and Mother of God." And s experiences at Einsiedeln made ne saints and the idleness of the to this doctrine appears again and wrote to Rhenanus that he would Of Luther's works on the "Lord's us somewhat with the "adoration speaks of preparing for the press ship and Haller, the Reformer of was daily expecting to read Zwin- of the saints. One of Canon Hoff- lim was that he preached against again appears prominently in his vignon which he thus describes in ly 30, 1522:

cain Franciscan from France, whose s here not many days since and had the Scriptural basis of the saints and He was not able to convince me by age of Scripture that the saints do ith a great deal of assurance boasted

1522, he published a sermon on the Mary" in which he held to her virginity d faith, but he denied her intercession. n he debated with the Commission of in 1522, this was one of the doctrines

ZWINGLI'S EARLY TH
that he attacked. It comes out very p
Conference at Zurich in January 29,
theses, the 20th says "God desires to
name, whence it follows that outside to
Mediator except himself." And in t
up on these theses there occurred an
defense on the Catholic side was very
general, led it. Zwingli said:

"Now since my Lord vicar anno
of how he convinced the clergyman
means of the divine Scriptures of the
to the dear saints and the mother of
are our mediators with God, I beg of
and of Christian love, to show me th
also the words of Scripture where it i
pray to the saints as mediators; so th
now, I may be better instructed; sin
Bibles in the Hebrew, Greek and La
will have examined, so that we ma
meaning of Scripture that the saint
mediators."

The vicar made a long-winded
Scripture passage as proof. Zwingli
he give the passages on which he ha
of Fislisbach to the Catholic doct
passage:

"For if such a custom began
it did not exist before; and if
Christians and were saved, though
intercession of the saints and perh
it follows that they did not sin, a
and did not consider the intercessio
really know from the Scriptures w
Mediator between us and God." ~~that Jesus~~

He then again after some digression
"I desire that you do not make use
which do not even bear upon my question,
before, tell at once where is written of
the holy invocation and intercession.
you pretended you could show from off
But the vicar again turned it off
riage of priests, then a burning qu
by quest

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Scripture where it is written concerning intercession of saints. Then, in Luke, 2nd chapter, where he text in Luke, 2nd chapter, where "Blessed is the body that has born casts which thou has sucked." But said, "We are not asking concerning the Mary, but concerning her invocation the vicar took offense at the intercessions of saints. Then, heelf out by sitting down and refused

prominence of this doctrine at that

of his Theses published July 14, 1523, at the First Conference in Zürich. After this First Conference in Zürich, the reformers again as iconoclasts began destroying the churches. This led, as we have seen, to the Conference at Zurich in October, 1523. At this Conference saint-worship took up the whole discussion. Zwingli tried to say something in defense of saint-worship, but as he could give no Scripture proof, he was taken up, "The images are not according to Scripture. Therefore they should not be worshipped by Christians and they ought to be done away with." Zwingli proved this proposition ably from the Word of God. Ulrich von Küssnacht tried to weakly defend saint-worship, saying that the images were staffs and supports to the weak. Zwingli said:

"useless ministers and bishops zealously serve God instead of busying themselves with nummery, it had not come to this, that simple, unacquainted with the Word, must hang pictures on the wall or wooden

With this the prominence given by Zwingli

to this doctrine, it ought to be noted that it was at Einsiedeln that Zwingli began his Protestantism. He was born at Einsiedeln which was erected to the Virgin Mary. It is also remarkable that as Zwingli grew up he was exposed to strong opposition to saint-worship, which he fought against to end his life with it. For when

ZWINGLI'S EARLY

lying under the pear tree and dying
he was advised by the Cath-
around him, that if he could not say
should pray in his heart to the M-
the saints. But Zwingli shook his

Now while this doctrine has
in Zwingli's life, it is noticeable
doctrine has been becoming promi-
atorship of Christ between God and
man we have given says he preaches
is the only Mediator. It is really
doctrine of the invocation of the
not to be prayed to since Christ is
says that Zwingli in his first ser-
mon at Zurich, after describing
the Father and taught all men to
Christ, as the only Savior." Zwingli
preaching at Zurich, after describing
Matthew, then on Acts, Timothy
he went to Hebrews :

"In order to bring to the
great benefit of the coming of Jesus
Here they were to learn that
and well have they learned it.
Christ as an offering, once made
justified them."

He again speaks of this doctrine
4, 1520: "Christ died once for
more." (Romans 6:9.)

In the 67 theses of the Zurich
doctrine is clearly stated in theses

50. "God alone remits sins
and our Lord."

51. "Whoever only assigns to
the honor of God and gives it to
real idolatry."

2. "The sum and substance of
Jesus Christ, the true Son of God
will of his heavenly Father and
leased us from death and reconciled

3. "Hence Christ is the only
ever were, are and will be."

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Canon of the Mass, he again speaks offered once for all for us as the e placed this against the idea of ce. In 1524, in a defence against received his knowledge of the Bible Winterthur and that he denied the atoning death in his sermons, he finds the sure certainty of his salv-
ng Son of God."

In of theology his "True and False ed considerable space* to this doc-
ain appears. For in the Confession or of Germany at Augsburg (1530)

no other victim for expiating crimes was Paul crucified for us, for there he sun in which we must be saved his is the one sole Mediator between s."

gical work published posthumously, tian Faith," he says: "For the con- atonement of our sins gained with is Christ who has suffered for us."

as he grew older, to broaden his they all gathered around this early mediatorship of Christ,—the ransom for all (Heb. 10:10).

t this fundamental doctrine? It came already seen from his great teacher, h, of Basle, who implanted in his ritual doctrine that "Christ was the :† "the death of Christ was the sole Therefore faith is the key which asury of such remission." "Absolu- a Romish cheat, the death of Christ is."

f the atonement became the sheet

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anchor for Zwingli. It laid hold ever afterward. It is specially being before he broadened out into as in his "True and False Religion" doctrines tends comparatively to background. It was the belief in the way to undermine his faith at saints. "If Christ was the only one who could save us, then what was the need of the saints?" Then he approached it Scripturally and for reason. He could not find saints settled the matter for him. As he more and more clear to him that Christ is the only Mediator, as he later says (indeed the phrase "Christ is the one only Mediator," this from the Epistle to the Hebrews sticks in his mind—Christ died on the cross, and the Gospel of justification from Galatians 3:13 got his Gospel of atonement from

It was the same Gospel only Zwingli went down deeper than Luther. He held that the Gospel of justification by faith, namely, that justification is based on the atonement, either by works, or by faith as Luther did. God does in Christ at his atonement, views were therefore more definite and definite. The text that seems to have most impressed him was Hebrews 10:14. He referred to this in the First Disputation of 1523, where he repeatedly quotes Hebrews 10:14. As a vicar, he says:

"I say that you should prove from the New Testament that the mass is a sacrifice, for as St. Paul writes, 'Christ not more than once was sacrificed for us, but by his own blood he entered the Most Holy Place, having offered one sacrifice forever sat down at the right hand of God.' Likewise, 'for by one offering he has made an atonement for ever them that are sanctified.'

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e sacrifices in the Old Testament ful-
it, by so much more powerful is this
was sufficient once for the sins of all
7.)

ce may be traced his early opposition,
ch against fasting. He had been preach-
sts because not in the Bible. But the
t was, that fasts were supposed to be
ed us. And Zwingli was jealous for his
and saves alone" was the keynote of his

is on Christ as the great Mediator placed
sition while he was at Einsiedeln. For
as the Black Virgin,—there it was held
by the Virgin, in whose honor the abbey
no had consecrated it miraculously. But
wingli preached that sins were forgiven
and not by the Virgin Mary. No wonder
a sensation so that tradition has it that
told those whom they met coming to the

1. And they turned away home and did
Now it must have required a tremendous
ve preached, right at the shrine of Mary
ospel of the forgiving Christ. It was like
right at Ephesus and Daniel worshipping
the king's idolatrous edict. But Zwingli
a hero. He knew he was right. For he
ing the Bible. His clear humanistic mind
clearly and strongly on the death of Christ.
s on the death of Christ explains his
her doctrine, which Zwingli made so
the Memorial View of the Lord's Supper.
eological Protestantism by so emphasiz-
Christ, he naturally fell into the view
rd's Supper a memorial of Christ's death.
upper is complex in its significance. Now
ment made prominent and now another
rmers and different Churches. Luther,
4, emphasized the relation of the commun-
dy in the sacrament. Calvin, on the other

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hand, emphasized the relation of Christ,—the idea of communion Christ in heaven through the phasized the relation of the cor Christ,—the Lord's Supper was And who will deny the truth? "This do in remembrance of me," he says: "Christ having sacrificed eternity a certain and valid sacrifice. It, therefore, follows faithful.

Zwingli later broadened the system and the doctrine of the at proportionably so prominent a place clearly stated or understood. Of all the other doctrines—Christ d larger work, published 1525, his "other doctrines come in to complete the change that took place is best to the Emperor of Germany (1530) of Christ as the sole Mediator before adds "Moreover God's election is firm: for whom he has elected in the world, he has so elected as though Him unto Himself." Thus the atonement, which doctrine was further established by his last words "Providence." But in his last work "Faith," he returned to the atonement of Christ appears again.

We have thus dwelt on the development of Zwingli, which made him what he was. Our reason for doing so is that Zwingli, like the writers on his time, was fully Evangelical. Stahelin is undeniably the latest biographer of Zwingli followed in all respects. But Stahelin is considered orthodox by us in America, in the tradition of a Mediate in the atonement of Christ. His complete vicarious atonement of Christ is based on the Bible gives it, namely that in

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The result is that he does not do these points. The earlier biographers are better here. What is said of the later Church historians who's life. The recent attempt of the Germany, among them Harnack, has entirely dependent on Luther. And phies have simply echoed the Germans fail to understand Zwingli, before not Evangelical and cannot study ipoint. For they deny the absolute as a result, his substitutionary atonement not a God, he cannot make so great required. Therefore these writers, Zwingli's theological views, pass by the ransom of Christ. It does not s no place in their theology and so us. We, therefore, call attention to gelical biographies of Zwingli made ctreine of the atonement.

Reformation lesson we need to learn at at is that had Luther and Zwingli not onement, there would probably have

It was Christ's death, and justifica- ave us the Reformation. The flabby s of the New Theology of today i such a sensation or lead to such behooves us on this anniversary of t back to the great doctrines of the there has always been tremendous y have the dynamic to shake the formed need to get back to the doc- cy of Scripture which he held to- Ve need to get back to his great doc- e ransom,—Christ's Mediatorship is complete. The theological cry was o Christ, we need to go farther and nd Him Crucified," which was the ing. Nothing but the love of Christ, l, will ever conquer the world. The

ZWINGLI'S EARLY

more that Christ's atonement is nificance, the less there is of love ethical and fails to satisfy man's the emotional and the more Chr to mere law by taking the vica making vicariousness the law o death was purely natural and not is evacuated of love. Salvation i atonement is the great exception only be revealed by grace,—by giveness for the sake of the death place, dying in our stead. That o of Christ's is the magnet that wil as nothing else can do.

CHAPTER

THE UNFINISHED LUTHERAN¹ SIGNIFICANCE TO THE

The Reformation of the sixteenth century concerns two Churches, the Reformed as between them, what is their contrast between them is brought unfinished Lutheran Reformation a Reformed.

In speaking on this subject it is from the character or credit that the Church. Luther will ever stand among heroes of the Reformation. He had the Lutheran Church, that he founded praised for the tenacity with which defended his doctrine of justification to

But the Lutheran Church was Reformation and we fear that some will on this 400th Anniversary of the Reformation as if Luther and the whole of it and make the anniversary. We believe that fair-minded Luther though we fear that the Reformed side will be scantily passed by as of little. Some of them have never given credit generously as we have done to Luther. one-sided emphasis of theirs and to state the Reformation in its full significance to the subject.

The unfinished Reformation of the sixteenth century should not be held as too severe to them. For the Reformation, whether formed, is not entirely finished, even in Pietism of the seventeenth and eighteenth

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there was a great deal of Puritanism at the Reformation. All the extravagances of Puritanism, yet there is not much wonder if you and I had been praying to it for many years and could not forgive it for being a fraud and cheat, apt to lead us unto extravagance. Even then went beyond the extreme iconoclasts. Even worship. And they did it because

To prove the difference between some of the differences between time of the Reformation. We Lutherans since then have in a more progressive reform were certain forms that the Lutherans eschewed by the Reformed retained exorcism, christening or baptism, while the Lutherans insisted that the use of the wafer, the cross, and lay-baptism. At the same time the Lutherans retained the adoration of the host. In the late 1536 the delegates from the Lutherans retained crosses of Christ's broken body. The Lutherans retained pictures from the presence of the elements in the pictures and the Reformed rejected by the Lutherans made many saudation, the minister made the benediction, the Lutherans Church has position of the Lutherans Church has following. Luther in 1528 wrote

"I condemn no ceremonies but all others. I retain intact the

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istered with the same rites as used is the vernacular. I even except those destroyed by the e also celebrate mass in the cus- only adding certain German songs lar in the words of consecration. it the Latin mass done away nor use of German, had I not been hate nobody worse than him who ceremonies and turns liberty into

Berlin clergyman who was troubled emonies retained in the worship of arch of Brandenburg, he said:

ake your processions with a silver or and mantle of velvet, satin or linen. lector does not find one hood or cas- free as Aaron, the high priest, wore ments from which the priestly robes eir name. And if his Electoral grace t or procession enough with its ringing ven as Joshua marched around Jericho srael, shouting and blowing trumpets. Mar grave would enjoy it, let his Elec- dance in front of the procession with ymbals and bells as David did before ought into the city of Jerusalem."

he wrote to Chancellor Brueck

God be praised, are so conducted as re- ings, that a layman from Italy or Spain German, would be compelled to say, on noir, organs, bells and the like, that ours irch, not at all or very little different from own country."

ion wrote in the Augsburg Confession :*

ies are falsely accused of abolishing the mass, stained on our part and celebrated with great- almost all the ceremonies that are in use (in irch) are preserved, saving that with the things we mingle certain things sung in German in the service."

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"A slight difference of rites seems to opposition to the concord (with the Ca
The Reformed never talked that w
tion of these indifferent things was a n
cause Scriptural. And they cast them
proves that the Reformed went much
cultus than the Lutherans. They corr
erans left unfinished. Protestant wor
today if the Reformed had not come in

We will now leave this point and
ment. Here too the Reformed went
Lutherans. Luther attempted in a m
Churches, when they came out of Cat
But he did not get very far before he
compare his effort at organization wi
of the Reformed, we see how Zwingli
Lasco completed, the Reformed form
Government too with the Lutherans di
importance as doctrine, for there see
principle about it as the Lutherans in
pal, and in Germany consistorial. T
parity of the ministry as necessary a
formed did. Luther allowed the sta
of government. It might have any f
Catholic. But not so with the Refc
fixed principle,—a principle that is f
ment,—the government must be prest
Koestlin, Luther's biographer, grants
organizer, for he says: "Luther's miss
sphere of concrete practical organizati
We see then the difference between
Reformed was, that the Lutherans left
own church. Each prince in Germany
composed of councillors, some minister
appears the Erastianism of the Lutherai
instead of being autonomous as a true
is dependent on the state. Even in the
tianism, that the congregation and not t
to call its own minister, yet that call m

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sentatives in the upper Church courts synod and general synod. To each the elders. Each congregation was represented by its own consistory it was represented. This representative form of government is peculiar to the Reformed Church. It is a form of government that enabled the F found republics.

We thus see the difference between government. We in America are not as they are in Germany where Church Here, where no princes rule, there are no consistories to govern them. So they have formed, self-governing. And they have either the congregational form of government or a sort of presbyterian, as in Others have superintendents and some show how this lack of complete organization Church of Germany has hindered it, we given us by one of the leading Reformed About the year 1817 and later the L Churches in different parts of Germany the Evangelical Church. In this union to retain its creeds and customs, yet was a compromise. At the top was placed from the Lutheran Church and at the from the Reformed. This led to the byterial form of government into the L many. This presbyterian form of government congregations to elect elders. And condition was revealed. In many of they had great difficulty to find men enough. Why? Because the Lutheran Church turies since the Reformation, been trained almost to be forced into the eldership might be filled. Now this would never Reformed Church. For the Reformed

* But the General Council has not a power that the Reformed Churches do in th

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the Reformation, had been training up nations. And what magnificent laymen as he has had; as in the Reformation, Vadian Gall, Admiral Coligny of France, Elector Palatinate in Germany and William of Orange. All these things show that her Church is therefore more complete than the Lutheran. In beyond this unfinished organization of the and fully organized themselves. They did believe they found the presbyterial form of it in the New Testament where it speaks of presbytery and where bishops and presbyters in the same word. It would have been a greatism if the Reformed Church organization had istence. For then Catholicism would have the aquered Protestantism.

is shown that the Lutheran Church has been an reformation on two points, cultus and government, the last point, and that is doctrine. We may when we say that the Lutheran Church did not xctrine. This is not so familiar to us in America. Germany, where the two Churches exist side by be more familiar with the doctrinal differences Lutherans and Reformed. Here the main differ- two differences in the use of the German language Lord's Supper, although in the use of the Lord's Prayer. n, "Father our" instead of "our father"; and the closely following the Latin of the Catholic did use the phrase "deliver us from the evil one." ailes, Creed, the Lutherans use the phrase "Christian nile are familiar with a whole line of differences two Churches, from the beginning of dogmatics— e of God, down to the end—the future state. Were and of polemics than we are, we might be interested ese differences all through the system of theology. to do this, but we will note two differences where trans failed to complete a doctrine and the Reformed it, two instances where the Reformed went farther

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than the Lutherans. The two doctrin
Lord's Supper and justification by fait

We will take up the Lord's Suppe
doctrine of the Lord's Supper holds th
of Christ are present "in, with and und
and wine. Other Churches call this co
that is denied by the Lutherans. But w
Luther's doctrine instead of the general
find a difference. We find that Luthe
times. There may be said to have been
and a late one. The first was when he
the Catholics and reacted against their d
tiation; the later period was when he w
against the Catholics but against the S.
called the Reformed. Luther's controver
the Reformed caused him to narrow do
his views. In his early days Luther was
Reformed than later. The change occu
1526. The Luther before that time is in s
from the Luther after it. In fact Luther's
ment of the sacrament are an interesting s

We get Luther's early views on the I
of his works:

1. The Sermon on the Blessed Sacrament
2. The Sermon on the New Testamen
3. The Treatise on the Babylonish Capt

1520.

4. The Abuse of the Mass, 1522.

Let us look at these different works.

The first extended statement of Lut
Lord's Supper is in his "Treatise on the
(1519). The great emphasis of this work
has not a word to say about the sacrifice
was the Catholic view. But he has a grea
faith and its necessity. Almost his first ass
tion from Augustine, "Why preparest thou
Only believe and thou hast already partaken
This phrase seems to be the clue to all the
the sermon is fellowship with the saints.

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Nobility of Germany" was his great
the laity. But this "Babylonish Captivity
the secular powers but to the Church.
Romish sacraments and handles them with
how they blind the people and keep them
at the beginning of the discussion of it
begins again with a reference to Augusti
and thou hast eaten." The first captivity
of the mass by withholding the cup from
is transubstantiation. The third is that

"The mass is a divine promise which
intercede for no one and be communicated
him alone who believes with a faith of him
being the promise of God, is not fulfilled
by believing."

Speaking of Judas he says (217), "The
same sacrament and testament which we
own work, in the unbeliever, a strange way
that the sacraments were mere signs of
God in Christ. Unless there was faith the

In 1523 Luther says:

"Faith, without which the outward
stands in this, that we firmly believe
stands for us and has taken all our sins
the eternal satisfaction for our sins and
God to the Father. Who has faith believes
Who stands in such faith belongs here
as an assurance and sign or specifica
the divine promise and consent, that
to the sorrowing, a medicine to the
bread to the hungry, and a rich tr
needy."

All these quotations reveal Luther's
or the subjective in the Lord's Supper,
from his later emphasis on the objective
Christ's body in the elements of the Su
of the Lord's Supper consisted of three

1. The relation of the Supper to
2. The relation of the Supper to
of his body.

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upper to the Word of God. emphasized the first. We agree with you on Luther's early doctrine of the Sacraments. In Studien und Kritiken, 1843, page 100, he says: "The doctrine of the Lord's Supper was not Luther's early doctrine. But we can not quite say that it was virtually Reformed and that the Reformation kept Luther's early doctrine. For Goebel thoroughly agrees with Luther on the sacrament, yet all the while he emphasizes the presence of Christ's body, indeed although he does not say as much of the Word of God as he does in his early writings. But Goebel was really carrying out Luther's view that Christ's death, and Christ's body and blood in the sacrament, are the source of salvation and forgiveness. Carlstadt cast aside, as heresy, the adoration and consubstantiation, the distribution of the body and the blood. These are the extremes to which Carlstadt reacted against his earlier positions. In his controversy with Carlstadt he became more and more emphatic in his doctrine, the presence of Christ in the Word in the sacrament.

Now concerning the efficacy of the Lord's Supper, there are three views about it. At one time the sacraments have efficacy in themselves or the spiritual connection was the "opus operatum" theory in baptism in itself cleanses without faith, wine feeds the soul without efficacy.

The subjective view of sacramental Reformed view. The sacraments are present. It is this subjective

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side that comes out in the early Zwinglian and the views. Zwingli's at first made it a memorial,—we remember Christ's death,—a subjective process. Calvin at the Supper we are to lift up our minds away fromments up to heaven where Christ is and thus conformed him; also an intellectual and subjective process. formed thus emphasized the subjective element. just what Luther did in his earlier works. Faith everything, as we have just seen. Thus far Lu formed.

The reason why Luther so greatly emphasized earlier writings was probably due to his emphasis by faith. His reaction against the Catholic justification by works would naturally lead his faith. If faith was so necessary for our salvation necessary for the sacrament. Luther shows t In his second, the emphasis on the Word w Later Luther's emphasis was more on the prebody. So we see that he finally accepted namely, that the efficacy of the sacrament alone. His view was a compromise view— subjective view. The efficacy lay not in selves as according to the Catholic or ob lay in the presence of Christ's body, which received by faith. He thus held on to obje body was objective to us). And he also h tive in demanding faith. So while the em earlier writings, as we have seen, on th it is in his later writings laid on the pres rather than faith. It is to be remembered after Luther's death split into two camp holding to ubiquity and that the unwe body through the mouth.* And these Luther in holding to it. But this does

* Westphal and his followers were (true) and "substantialiter" (substantial porealiter" (corporeally), "dentaliter" (through the throat) and "stomachaliter"

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ith was the important element and was saved Luther in his later views, as Melchonians followed his earlier views. As far Luther got at last from his first works that we have quoted. His conduct led him as we have seen to react against his controversy with Zwingli and the more and more to react against the subphasize the "real presence" of Christ's the sacrament. His emphasis, later, as always, was on "the Word" as used by the "This is my body." In his growing emphasis of the Word spoken at the Supper, he biological idea of the Catholics, that those "body" performed the miracle of transubstans see that on the Lord's Supper, there basis by the earlier and the later Luther. Had have largely harmonized with the Reformed the subjectivity of the sacrament, very occasionally he speaks of the presence.

And when Calvin later formulated the Christ at the Supper, the only difference made Christ's presence spiritual and Luther material.

Significance of all this. It is that Luther emphasized very much the subjective in Reformed, and not the Lutheran, have the emphasis of Luther in his early works. have accepted Luther's first tract on the tract where he makes incidental reference to saints for us. But as far as the Lord's tract is largely Reformed doctrine. had remained, where he stood at first, for have been the great and unfortunate dividers and the Reformed.

other significance about this. The reason later became victorious in large parts of alatinate, Hesse, Anhalt, Lippe, Bremen, was, that they continued the original re Lutheranism had not become polemic,

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but had retained the original ireni doctrines found lodgment. We of the Reformed doctrines into Germany against the narrowness and bigotry. But was it only a reaction? No, it was a development. These low Lutheran views were more nearly theirs of them than those of the high Luther. The significance of it all was that continued Luther's earlier views in the sacrament. And the sign formed and Presbyterians is that they are holding the original views of Luther. views because they are Luther's. refused to take any man's name a because they are found in the New authority of the Word of God be

We have thus noticed the incomplete doctrine of the Lord's Supper and formed have completed it in the spiritual presence of Christ at the table. They did not take up another doctrine that Luther had left incomplete and that it remained for them to complete. It was no less a doctrine than the "standing or falling doctrine" of Luther and the Lutherans have a central, —namely, justification by faith. They did not lay emphasis on it, that they did not. And it remained for Luther to begin teaching it and that he did not finish it. The Reformed went before him and completed the doctrine. And this is one of the important points.*

The first of these additions to the doctrine of justification is that the Lutheran do

* For the suggestions of this subject, see A. Lang, D.D., of Halle, who delivered a paper at the meeting of the Reformed Alliance of America, since published.

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Luther's lack of assurance is shown first laid hold of the doctrine. In his 5-1516, he is uncertain about salvation, a belief in salvation by faith. Then he ~~is~~ again. Even after he had come to ~~is~~ uncertainty. And this uncertainty ~~d~~ with him to some extent to the end. Larger Catechism in the 6th petition, ness of errors and peace of conscience, used in every way from sin, yet it is conduct, that today one stands, but to Luther followed Augustine very closely. His doctrine of election never rose up ~~e~~ he tried to tack his sacramentalism Baptism regeneration. Harnack says: ~~E~~ sin, Augustine had not experienced certainty of salvation. Luther therefore could be sure of salvation possessing

~~a~~s did Calvin up to the doctrine of the ~~t~~s, which meant "once a saint, always a ~~lat~~ came from that idea, Luther did not ~~a~~inty in every way, especially in the ~~—~~the Word and the sacraments. Very Baptism. For by it, he thought God by ~~1~~ regeneration. And extremely import ~~r~~d's Supper, that pledge to him of for ~~dy~~ of Christ was in it, and the minister ~~agical~~ words of institution. But these ~~t~~ produce absolute certainty of salva ~~the~~ time to the idea of the strenuous thing possible in order to get assurance, ing it. But the Reformed went farther. doctrines, one that gave them perfect doctrine of election. They founded the merely on an experience as did the ~~ternal~~ rites (the sacraments and the herans. But they founded it on the ~~ere~~ in God's hand as clay in the hands was sure, for with God nothing could

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fail. Therefore they easily pass
ance, making assurance the last i-
tion. Now the doctrine of ele-
popular as it once was; but it can
never to be forgotten, namely, the
foundation of everything. It ma-
eimphasis on God. But that v
tremendous power and made it :
people. They felt God could be
saints this doctrine made. The
persecution or death without fea-
And while the doctrine of electio-
in our days, yet when the great ti-
God's sovereignty and also his
and God's people more comfort-
assurance is gone. It was this
faith that has been the comfort-
surance of Wesleyanism that de-
away, but the great assurance
are his elect. Historically there
went beyond Luther in assurance.

Then on another point the
on this doctrine. They ethicized
into justification a moral element.
Calvin was the great Ethicist.
Calvin in his theology made so
yet he demanded man's act in d
beyond Luther. Luther in his ir-
by works so emphasized faith
separated the doctrine of faith
connected with it, good works.
works into juxtaposition with
justification pure and simple.
beginning of justification as did
it at the end even by a synergis-
solaftidian throughout, that it, b

But with Calvin, justifica-
element. Not that works saved
by works, he was at once with
justification was by faith, Calv-

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only Luther emphasized faith, and Cal-

pronouncedly sets the law over against set them over against each other, for that is, the observance of the law. He was eminent in faith. He was not so much afraid to put them into the doctrine, not at the Catholics, but at the end. Thus a man never if he were impure or unrighteous. There necessity because faith was not complete without not separate faith and works as did he put them together. Every act of justification has did not overlook in the doctrine. Calvin placed less ethical element in it. It was just this ethical element did not overlook in the doctrine. Calvin placed less effective assurance, for he demanded the presence of evidence of saving faith. The doctrine of the saints was not mere tenacity in holding on was their consistent activities in the energies of life. This ethical peculiarity of the Reformed heir doctrinal beliefs. They believed in election, red that no man was elect unless his life as a whole ; election. They believed in justification, but it ;ication unless there was an ethical temper about

two points therefore, on assurance and on the Reformed went beyond the Lutherans on the subject 1. They thus completed the Lutheran doctrine of

our whole subject together, Luther left matters three points, cultus, doctrine and government. nate thing for the world and for Protestantism the Reformed came in to complete what Luther itting it the other way, how unfortunate it would the world and for Protestantism had the Reformed with the Lutherans, and the Reformed side of on never had been born. The Reformation would Ephraim "a cake not turned"—only half-baked. of the Reformed side of the Reformation for , for higher morals, for better Church govern- ave been lost. It is therefore evident that much

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as Lutheranism has done, a Reformation was not Luther forgotten in our glorification rejoice in what Luther did, wings are covered over by the to be the case with our judges. But that does not blind us to had gone no farther than Luther. a great loss to the Protestant Protestants had remained as the Reformation, we would have Churches—the sign of the cross and in pronouncing the benefit there would be adoration of the influence of the Lutheranism of today influence has sloughed off some

Now such half measure character. And that is what often. We will give an illustration between the Lutheran and districts of the Palatinate. Palatinate along the river Rhine, whose capital was Andernach, was Reformed, the last nation Reformed and remained so. What happened? In the awful Thirty Years' War, in the seventeenth century, before the Catholic armies. When Lutheran Church in the clean over to the Catholic still Reformed and persisted become Catholic. It was a return to Catholicism because their rites. But the Reformation was summoned before commanded to become Catholic give up their lands and emigrate give up their lives; but they faith.

CHAPTER II.

ZWINGLI TO THE SPIRIT OF THE REFORMATION.*

We called a Spirit of the Reformation. This spirit differed from other ages. It differed from the Middle Ages before it. And it differs from the Reformation and from the spirit of the age in which we live.

The Reformation, each nation and each nation. The spirit of the Reformation, all these and more. Luther made his Reformation spirit by his inspiration, scholarship. Calvin contributed most to the Reformation. Even the French and Viret and Lasco contributed their share up the contribution that Zwingli made to the Reformation.

In discussing this topic it will be necessary to say something of things that all these Reformers believed. Dr. Schaff has stated in his histories of the great Reformation doctrines, the suprematism of the Reformation by faith; and he later added, from Mercersburg Theology, the priesthood of all believers. Now the first and last of these were the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. We held to the authority of the Scriptures, the doctrine of justification by faith; and so of it we need not say. But we can set aside these Reformation doctrines common to all and take up the things

address delivered before the Eastern Synod in the United States, October 17, 1916, which will explain why it repeats certain parts of his work.

THE C

in which Zwingli
of the Reformatio

I. The first c
the *Political Refo*
political Reformer
his early ministry,
opposing the fore
who were fighting
upon him by the e
he had a habit of
his attacks on this
Glarus, as the mil
things unpleasant
activity came out
Zurich he pursued
through his effort
often forgotten by
up sending its citi
act is shown by t
favored doing so
because of Zwing

Now Luther
lately refused to
the Church. He
Church, which me
and the states sho
especially over as
Political Reformatio

For this he h
histories have be
formed should re
as its basis a na
some Lutherans
Zwingli thus cul
of America. F
emphasized the s
activity has seen

Your speak
just here about
the same positio

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hing, or at least something very much in historically heretical for saying this. In historians I pay little respect. What

I mean is that Zwingli has been over-all activity. Remember that he lived in power over him as Luther had in his axony, to attend to his politics for him. As was every other citizen of a republic of his political activity was due to the republic, while Luther lived in a mon- also too that Zurich was isolated from ecally for several years and just because d become Protestant. It was an awful iet was mainly Catholic and so against at diet back from sending far larger her territory, except that some of the Bern and Schaffhausen were wavering vly becoming Reformed. Zurich was she was treading the wine-press alone.

In the world at that time if the Catholic

She was more fearfully isolated than

She had not like Luther some prince

hide her for a time in the Wartburg.

As Athanasius in the fourth century,

Athanasius against the world." Now at

life or death of a state is at stake,

a republic, becomes a statesman. And

political leader there. And especially so

uation was produced by his religious

s have triumphantly replied, "Yes, look

t and death at Cappel were a judgment

f into politics." And they quote tri-

Our Lord that "all they that take the

the sword." Not quite so fast, my

remembered that our Lord also said

d peace, but a sword." And remember

leagues would have come anyhow.

the Catholic Church which is one of

vers. Remember too this special fact

ical Policy that led to the death and

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defeat of Zwingli was caused by Bern and
Zwingli had protested against it, yes, preacher,
then Bern left Zurich in the lurch. So that
a judgment on himself.

Perhaps this whole subject of political
illuminated by what happened the next cent
occurred to you that there would probably
that awful Thirty Years' war, had Zwingli's p
estants would not have suffered as they did
powers had known that a strong and united
Protestants were ready to meet them in 1618
have entered that war, out of which they can
weak opposition by the Protestants, with such
what took place thus in that 17th century.
And this led him to prepare for it, first by fo
the Protestant states of Switzerland and the
and Hesse. It was simply a case of prepare
now. Permit me also to carry you a century
1688 the Catholics were ready to make a stir
the Protestants as they had made in 1618.
in Louis XIV. This is shown by their atti
had ordered out of his land 500,000 Prote
tinate was overrun by the French. The Cat
determined to win England back. But a li
checked it all at the beginning. The Catho
at the battle of the Boyne. That put a quietu
tions all over Europe. They found that the
prepared Zwingli's political efforts were just
was one of preparedness, about which we he

The practical lesson that can be drawn fi
of Zwingli is that the Church has a sphere in
are not here referring to partisan politics.
tics touch morals, the Church has a right to
proper measures and to do that as quickly
the forces of evil become entrenched. Fo
servator of the morals of the nation. Wha
was even more accentuated by Calvin, a mu
nicipal Reformer. He never waited for a
route as some do now by which to denon

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at the subject directly. And though our
o directly related to the state as was
no less necessary; for the question has
of politics but of morals. How the old
te out on political questions. This em-
Church and state forgets also to note a
n and state have different spheres, they
arated. Each enters the other's sphere,
f legal action: the Church in the case of
and Calvin are strong examples for the
ve part in all the great moral and social

But Zwingli differed somewhat from
s activity was political as between states;
s own city. Zwingli stands out for the
in international relations. He is there-
erald of the great movement born in our
mphasized by this awful war, that the
only be observed within nations, but be-
is the duty of the Church to speak in
is subject. Zwingli thus becomes the
ie of Nations to enforce Peace," of which
He like Erasmus was an ardent advo-
also believed in thorough preparedness for
ssumes a new importance in the light of
reat political Reformer was the harbinger
tional Reforms, in which the Church must
f they are ever to be carried through suc-
llennial day

drums beat no longer and the battle
furled,
gent of man, the federation of the

Ontribution that Zwingli made to the spirit
was that he was the *Humanistic or Intel-
lectual* Reformer. Far be it from me to say that the other
Reformers were not intellectual. They
able, Melanthon, brilliant, Calvin, brainiest
he most practical. But Zwingli brought a
influence into the Reformation. This was

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due to his humanism. *Luther was the monk-Reformer.* The more I study, I more I realize the limitations placed imposed on monkhood and the more I realize the broader, Zwingli.

For Zwingli gained three great peculiarities. The first was as to the method of thought. Humanism taught that it was necessary to sources and so went back to the Bible. The expression over against the verbosity of language splittings of the scholastic theology. Perhaps also be added, namely, breadth of sympathy. broadest of the Reformers. All this gave an impetus to the Zwinglian Reformation, over against the

Now this prominence of the intellect was g the time of the Reformation. For the Romanis Ages had checked, yes, prostituted, the intellect and humanism had been but the bursting which the Middle Ages had been trying to entomb. The Catholic Church by its doctrine of "fides plicit faith) had served notice on the intellect that it could get along without it. And that Church of transubstantiation had virtually mocked at requiring it to believe in the Lord's Supper which senses said was not so. It was time that the come to its own again. Humanism came to a the Reformed Church then came to properly save rights. And so humanism and Zwingli made their indent. The result was that in that Reformation emphasized education and everywhere universities and schools, more so in the Reform Lutherans. I need but to refer to Herborn, Münster, three Dutch universities and the schools in France, Italy, Germany. The Lutherans have later been catching up and have a splendid set of institutions.

But our Lutheran brethren, just because Zwingli has intellect its rights, have been charging us with rationalism. Our reply is that we are rational but not rationalistic as orthodox as Luther on the great fundamental

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agreed as they did on all the 15 Articles
one On the Lord's Supper. The Re-
verans, grant much to faith, yet they
of the reason must be respected. Their
Supper is more rational. They believe
we must ever be ready to give a reason
within us. Reason must never be hidden
s done by Luther at Marburg when he
able to give to Zwingli's argument on the
to point to the words "This is my body"
the table. The Lutheran Church has em-
al especially in the Lord's Supper, and we,
both should be combined and neither for-

Zwingli made his important contribution of
he spirit of the Reformation so needed then
ions of Rome, this intellectualism must never
ainst the Bible and revelationism must never
is to depart from the spirit of Rationalism
pressive and pathetic scenes of Zwingli. One
in Zurich when, in the 300th Anniversary of the
d Antistes Hess, the head of the Church, over
age and tottering over the grave, seemed to
as he preached the Anniversary sermon and
successor declared that he was a Biblicist and
st and his successors in the Church should be
me to refer to but one more contribution that
the spirit of the Reformation. And this has
zed enough by the German Church historians
been so prevailingly Lutheran. They have
ing through Lutheran eyes. It is strange how
will follow fads. And if one of them makes
ho come after him are apt to follow him
For instance, Prof. Phillip Schaff, D.D.,
im from Germany the idea that there were
Reformation, the material principle were
aith, and the formal which was the Scrip-
that we correct this old worn-out, hind-
We, with our practical minds today,

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would put it the other way. It is the Bible that material, and justification is the form by which material. If justification is the material principle where does it get its material from, if not from where would the Bible get its formal principle were, as they say, the material; for there is 1 mention in the Bible compared with other doctrine.

Well, take another fad of Church history. doctrine of the Reformation has been stated to be faith. So it was for the Lutherans. But Germans (most of them Lutheran) have therefore that was true of the rest of the Reformation blinded their vision so that they have not recognized true, he believed in justification by faith. But so largely in his works. What was his peculiarity? Well, he held as did Luther to the Auctorite. So that was not peculiar to him. But they say that he got from his great teacher, Prof. Bach, at Basle, another fundamental thought. som of Christ. He states it in different ways, the same doctrine. "Christ is the sole Mediator, the Virgin and the saints are not needed." Or Christ died "once for all." But it is always the Christ's finished work. Thus Bullinger in his homilies preached the Gospel with all diligence also as especially taught that Christ was the only Mediator, the Virgin and Mother of God should be honored and worshipped." The third great peculiarity that he stands out as the *Redemptive Reformer*.

Zwingli therefore had a different doctrine and yet not so different. These two doctrines of justification are related as indeed are all the Bible. For there may be said to be three types of justification: one, the metaphysical, which places God back in the mind of God through election, this is redemptive, placed it at the cross of Christ which was experimental, placed it in connection with works at conversion. Now the old Calvinists first, and the Lutherans, the last. But Zwingli

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For guilty sinners crucified;
Content to die that he might win
Their ransom from the death of sin,
No sinner worse than I can be,
Therefore I know he died for me.

If grace were bought, I could not buy;
If grace were coined, no wealth have I;
By grace alone I draw my breath,
Held up from everlasting death.
Yet since I know that grace is free,
I know my Savior died for me.

I read God's holy word and find
Great truths that far transcend my mind
And little do I know beside
Of thoughts so high, so deep and wide;
This is my best theology,
I know my Savior died for me.

My faith is weak, but 'tis thy gift;
Thou canst my helpless soul uplift,
And say, "Thy bonds of death are
Thy sins by me are all forgiven,
And thou shalt live from guilt set free,
For I, thy Savior, died for thee."

—Rev. 1

CHAPTER III.

OF THE REFORMED SIDE OF THE REFORMATION THE SPIRIT OF PROTESTANTISM.

spoken of the Spirit of the Reformation in But there is also a Spirit of Protestantism. There is this difference. The spirit of the he spirit of the sixteenth century. The spirit is larger, for it takes in also the spirit of the nce the Reformation. It may be called the spirit. Take as an illustration of the differ- of republics. Calvin in the Reformation at public but it was an aristocratic one, an oli- last three centuries have developed out of that lat are democracies. The spirit of Protestant- larger than that of the Reformation. And this antism needs to be also considered in connec- of the Reformation and that very carefully.

Bible and the priesthood of all believers. The emphasized justification by faith, the Reformed, the emphasis on Church discipline and per- uication and produced a better idea of exegesis of the Catholics.

estantism, we come to speak of the special con- he Reformed. And we mention y. Zwingli and Calvin are both very interesting Americans because like us they were citizens of a permanent results, due to its extreme individualism. formed Church built up, according to historians as Motley, great republics in Switzerland and the

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United States and monarchies that are virtuous England and Holland. Even France, which so the Calvinists at the Revocation of the Edict of has been compelled to accept Calvin's form of, and become a republic. It was the Genevan duced the Commonwealth in England. Civil liberty have followed in the wake of Calvinism.anism has no such history to show. Her lands Scandinavia, have produced no republics, al country the Lutherans have become strong ad principles of liberty.

Now the cause of all this is not far to see always been an intimate relation between the Church and that of the state. The Church i the government of the state and vice versa. Cal government was more democratic than Lutheran Church, the prince was the Head. That prince appointed consistories to rule the C consistories were composed of ministers and lay held office only at the will of the prince. Th appointed superintendents. The appointment and given to these came from the prince and not fro But it was not so with the Reformed. Here the authority. The people elected their pastors, gregations elected their elders and deacons. Each was in itself a virtual republic. The Reformed learned to rule the Church, were able to rule the had learned in the congregation how to do it. I of England was right when he said that "Royalty go not well together." He scented the batt The Reformed Church produced a class of peop trained to rule themselves. They therefore held call even king and rulers to account, if they rightly and in the fear of God. This overth right of kings." It meant "the divine right rule. Indeed they so learned to rule that lutely need kings and princes at all. A republic in the congregation grew up th publics.

Now this was a remarkable and u

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whether rightly or wrongly it is not
as been greatly vilified for the ex-
- yet it was Calvin's successors who
1 religious liberty. Notice another
result. Calvinism has been declared
free will because of its doctrine of
this very doctrine of election that
greatest number of men of free wills

ht dawning on the world,
a full and perfect day,
vide flag shall be unfurled,
ill bow to her superior sway.

on of liberty is, it is impossible to
glossal, yes, celestial, of the gifts to
ing of that liberty, the Reformed
argest contribution and for it they

ontribution of the Reformed to the
been its Ethics. That Protestantism
y and that its ethics are higher than
of because self-evident. But what
Peculiar ethical quality? It was
low in saying this we do not wish to
Lutheran Church. For she too has
were higher and brighter than those
has not emphasized ethics as strongly
ethics of Protestantism have come
ed.

give several historical examples. In
it that the Hussites, who originally
d the Lutherans, left them and went
in the later Reformation? It was
introduce Church discipline, which
f conscience. They therefore com-
discipline in both the Churches and
ns. Now on the other side we see
hical Reformer of the Reformation.

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His reforms at Geneva were undoubtedly severe but it
Tübingen, one of the leaders of the Lutheran Chu
compelled to bear witness when on a visit to Gen
Lutheranism had no such city as that.

And what occurred in the Reformation has been
iarity of the Reformed ever since. Their ethical
were higher. The Lutherans also taught ethics,
Schweitzer has proved in his able articles in the S
Kritiken many years ago, that as far as ethics was
Protestantism had to depend mainly on the Reform
might be called Puritans and be laughed at by the
their narrowness and bigotry, but as Puritans they
pure in life. Take as an example the city of Bremen
Germany. Bremen became Reformed in the later F
All around her except on the north, where was t
Lutheran lands. But under the regulations due to
influence in the city, the morals of Bremen were
those of the surrounding countries. And this w
the days of Church Union a century ago. Oth
might be given. But these are enough to show t
of Protestantism that is ethical has come main
Reformed Church. The great moral uplift of t
came through Protestantism was mainly due to

And today it is this ethical chord vibrating
ism that needs to be recognized and heard. In th
altruism and service—those higher ethical ideals
are being stressed, where do these elements com
are here because of the Reformed. And the R
be especially active in every department of refor
but carrying out the spirit of the Reformation.
this day when men are demanding that the m
golden rule be applied not only to city, state an
to international relations, it is for the Calvinis
support these movements, for they come out

3. A third contribution that the Reformed
spirit of Protestantism has been Pietism. T
on experimental religion and tends to prod
tical activities of the Church. For where
there missions and charities abound. Th

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Reformed Church. But we suppose it by the Lutherans, who at once assert of Germany was a Lutheran, opposite German pietism as equally important. Puritanism of England, for Puritanism did we add to that the Puritanism of Pietists they had in Holland in Prof. All the Pietists in the world do not say or was Spener's pietism the only pietism, for there was also a Reformed pietism a thing as a world-wide pietism, and in the larger part. But let us pause a moment to get his pietism? He got it from the preaching of Labadie, the eloquent Church of Geneva and the successor to become a Pietist. When Spener was, Labadie was not yet a Separatist. the Church, because Calvin had encouraged him to become a Pietist. And where for instance did Spener meetings that he first introduced into the Reformed, who had always had the Pietism of the Church. And it was those prayer-meetings to Lutheran pietism. Why, have been crushed in Germany but for d it to the Lutherans. When Spener died because of the persecutions of the Elector of Brandenburg, received him Elector did more. He founded for him a university, the university of Berlin, which he was able to perpetuate themselves. Many owes its origin and permanence mainly looks as if the remark of Rev. Ade to the writer many years ago is "is germane to the Reformed Church to which it came, from the outside,—Prof. Ebrard also says the same: "Inhere lay no new birth at the basis of the Reformed, which led to personal

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experience." Iken says: "We must consider integral part of Reformed Church history." not a party in the Reformed Church as in t part of her inmost life and history.

Both the Lutherans and the Reformed are mystical. But with the Lutherans it was t sacrament, with the Reformed the mystical of life. Perhaps the best illustration of pietis Church is found in the Heidelberg Catechis "What is thy only comfort in life and de body and soul am not my own but belo Savior Jesus Christ." Its emphasis on per the finest flower in the garden of religious Church. Therefore the richness of personal is so prominent a feature of Protestantism mechanical and ceremonial of the Catholic mainly to the Reformed.

And when we turn to the fruits of piet and charities of the Church, the same thin anism has done much for missions and has l sionaries, but the Reformed have done mo sent out the first missionaries as to Brazil Reformed entered the field of world-m Lutherans. How they labored amid grea East Indies in the seventeenth century Church rejected missions so that Baron V himself to South America (as no one else for missions. The Lutheran Church, it is t eighteenth century and is now doing a gre other charities, we suppose no land is as formed Holland—the product of the Chu Churches the first of the three collections t always goes to the poor. As a result there Holland than there are poor to fill them. is unnecessary, for in Germany it is a com Lutherans emphasize the passive and the t the active.

And if we were to do as they do if Protestants who are not Lutheran as R would be still heavier on the side of the

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sts, Baptists, Congregationalists, etc.,
And there is a truth in this. These
are the Outgrowth directly or indirectly
Congregationalism certainly came out of
Methodism is, for it came out of the
in the Reformation had for its name
of England," and whose priests today
m to come from the Anabaptists of the
d Baptist. For historically the first Bap-
tist. For historically the first Bap-
tists out of the Congregationalists in Britain
entury, according to Prof. Whitsitt, late
Baptist Church. If we therefore follow the
count all these as Reformed, it overweighs
greatly. The great religious activity of our
Church has undoubtedly come largely from

The Reformed were always the leaders in
too the Lutheran Church has a splendid
tism always stands for the school as well
id in these educational movements the Re-
a large share. In the Reformation she
rsity of Herborn in Germany, three universi-
d by Leyden, the Carolinum at Zurich and the
ls at Bern, Geneva and Lausanne, out of
present universities. In France and Hungary
brated schools as Sedan and Debreczin. And
ave ever kept in the van of education. And
founded universities for the rich; but it was a
gue, Pestalozzi, who made education possible
poor; and thus laid the foundation for our
education. They were also leaders in the
s for girls. Thus the Reformed Church has
cord in this greatest of all movements next

A recent and interesting attempt has
any by Prof. Max Weber, of Heidelberg
that capitalism also came from Calvinism.
have been finely summarized in the Con-

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temporary Review for June and July, 1910, by Prof.

"By capitalism is not meant what we today mean of capitalist over against labor. But capitalism means of the growth and the use of capital that has made the world."

We must confess that when we first heard the advanced that capitalism was the product of Calvinism it shook our heads. Calvinism has already had a charge to its account without having any more advanced than we were somewhat relieved when we found that capitalism not the modern capitalist was meant. We were surprised at the source of this suggestion, for it is not economist to praise a theologian or for the land to laud Calvin. But the more we considered it, the believed that there was a great truth in it. Calvinism aiming to be a religious movement, has become a social force. Just as modern missions, intended to spread the gospel, has become a mighty world-wide sociological force. And if Calvinism has been with capitalism, liberty as we have seen, why should it not produce a boon in world-wide commercial supremacy?

For the facts of history seem to bear out the statement of Prof. Weber. At and after the Reformation Catholics drove out the Reformed, the latter settling in England, Holland, Switzerland and Brandenburg. They were largely of the great middle class artisans. Great trades were built up by them in France found that she had impoverished herself and the nations that were her enemies. The countries where these refugees prospered greatly. First Holland, commerce, and then England. Prussia owes its position at the head of Germany largely to the refugees. Antwerp took the trade from Spanish commerce on the other hand went to France. Thus these refugees developed their business. Weber says, we have the mighty world of commercialism. For Calvinism gave that liberal and industry to develop and it also gave it needed to advance. Hence the genius of the English people.

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Enterprise arose.

Suggests a reason why all this grew out

is:

Identify the genius of capitalism with the
he genius of capitalism is not mere
a passion of getting and keeping. It
; the passion of production and enter-
' work that spends little on itself but
and use it for God. Calvinism trans-
ed the mediaeval idea that work was
ere means of living and made it the
the world. Our calling was not as
f modest accommodation to our sta-
on the other hand a means of getting
was a problem to be solved, a book
inity of doing something on an eternal
est to the glory of God. It had an
ieranism had not. Its ideal was not
God mend all. Nay, said Calvin, but
end all. Life's work then becomes not
it, but the confident expression of an
ocation is not an acquiescence but a
t mere reliance but an energy. The
ism is not compliance but action,—all
d. It not merely changed the heart of
ile it accumulated wealth. It opposed
enjoyment. It recognized stewardship
It discouraged consumption and de-
; released production from the fetters
; or an egotistic enjoyment, especially
est on money where Calvin took a posi-
mpared with Luther's traditional ethics.
arge and sacred utilitarianism."

Ivin's influence— even in money-getting.

branded the mere passion of possession
, ammonism. The spring of industry was
; of energy and world-mastery for the
; Christian passion, God's kingdom and
d was to the will of God."

Onomist closes with a warning. He says :